

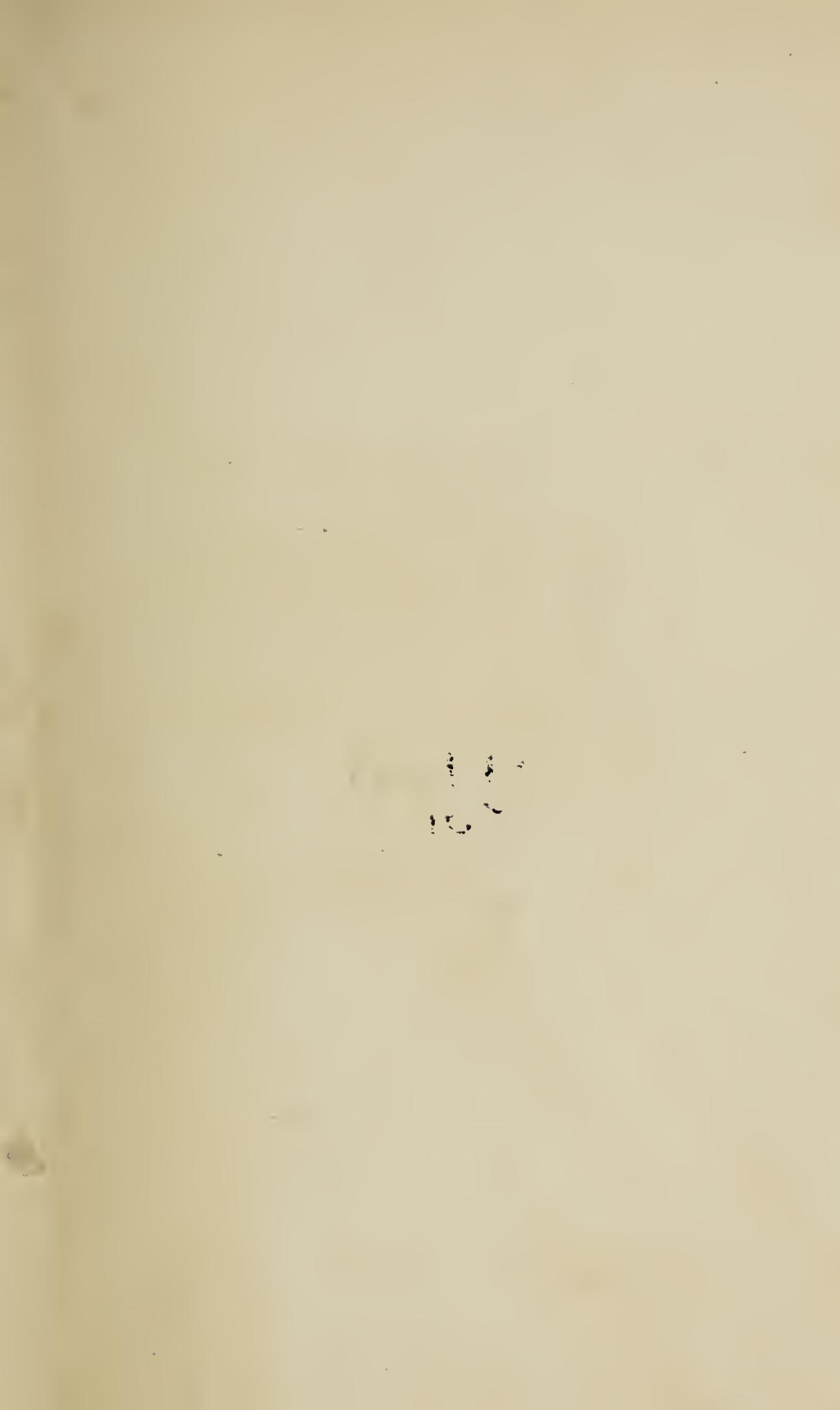
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HOFFMAN, WILLIAM H.,	35	Broadway
HOGAN, EDWARD J.,	308	Madison Street
HOLT, HENRY,	29	West 23d Street
HOLT, ROLAND,	29	West 23d Street
HOLZMAISTER, LOUIS V.,	37	Greene Street
HONIG, JOSEPH,	170	Broadway
HOPKINS, GEORGE B.,	56	Broadway
HOPKINS, JOHN,	329	Broadway
HOPPER, JOHN J.,	200	West 124th Street
HORNBLOWER, WILLIAM B., . . .	45	William Street

RESIDENT MEMBERS

HOVEY, FRANCIS J., 18 Cortlandt Street
HOWARD, HIRAM, P. O. Box 577,
 Providence, R. I.
HOWARD, STEPHEN C., P. O. Box 577,
 Providence, R. I.
HOWELL, THEODORE D., . . . 419 Broome Street
HOWLAND, C., care of W. & J. Sloane
HOWSON, HUBERT, 38 Park Row
HUBBARD, FRANK H., 34 Beaver Street
HUBBARD, JR., SAMUEL T., . . Cotton Exchange
HUDNUT, ALEX. M., . . . 51 West 39th Street
HUGHES, FREDERICK, 35 William Street
HUGHES, JOSEPH, 432 East 71st Street
HULL, WILLIAM F., 64 Water Street
HUNT, T. STERRY, Park Avenue Hotel
HURD, EBENEZER, 962 Lexington Avenue
HUSSEY, GEORGE F., 58 Lafayette Place
HUTCHINSON, JAMES M., 76 Fifth Avenue
HYDE, E. FRANCIS, 54 Wall Street
HYNEMAN, A. AUGUSTUS, . . 55 West 33d Street
ILES, GEORGE, Park Avenue Hotel
INGRAHAM, ARTHUR, 18 Exchange Place
INGRAHAM, JR., DANIEL P., . 18 Exchange Place
INGRAHAM, D. PHOENIX, 73 Cedar Street
IRELAND, FREDERICK G., . . 19 West 42d Street
IRWIN, ROBERT EASTON, . 124 Produce Exchange
ISELIN, ADRIAN, 36 Wall Street
IVINS, WILLIAM M., 35 Wall Street
JACKSON, FRANK W., 12 West 18th Street
JACKSON, GEO. THOMAS, 14 East 31st Street
JACKSON, SAMUEL M., 14 East 31st Street
JACOBI, MICHAEL, Bridge Store No. 2
JACQUELIN, JOHN H., 45 New Street
JAFFRAY, JR., ROBERT, 142 Pearl Street

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JANEWAY, T. THEODORE, . . .	11 West 17th Street
JANVIER, WALTER R.,	365 Canal Street
JARETZKI, ALFRED,	45 Wall Street
JENKINS, LEONARD A.,	337 West 57th Street
JEREMIAH, JOHN A.,	16 Exchange Place
JESUP, MORRIS K.,	52 William Street
JEWETT, GEORGE L.,	27 Cliff Street
JOHNSON, JAMES G.,	655 Broadway
JOHNSON, REGINALD P. B., . .	39 East 22d Street
JOHNSON, S. FISHER,	18 Wall Street
JONES, ALONZO B.,	8 West 29th Street
JONES, HENRY WARE,	10 Wall Street
JURGENS, ERNEST A.,	55 West 23d Street
KAHNWEILER, CHARLES F., . .	145 Greene Street
KAHNWEILER, WILLIAM S., . .	145 Greene Street
KAUFMAN, EDWARD S.,	111 Broadway
KAUFMAN, FELIX,	178 William Street
KAUFMANN, B.,	2 Stone Street
KEATINGE, JOSEPH M.,	3 Broad Street
KENNEDY, EDWARD G.,	58 West 21st Street
KENNEDY, JOHN S.,	45 Wall Street
KENT, JR., WILLIAM,	74 Cortlandt Street
KIDDER, CAMILLUS G.,	32 Nassau Street
KIEFER, ADOLF,	66 Leonard Street
KILBURN, HENRY F.,	229 Broadway
KIMBALL, ALFRED R.,	44 Exchange Place
KIMBALL, CHARLES O.,	49 West 33d Street
KING, PERCY R.,	15 Wall Street
KINGSLEY, EDWIN A.,	211 Halsey Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.	
KINSLEY, EDGAR L.,	58 West 57th Street
KIP, WILLIAM FARGO,	58 William Street
KIRBY, JR., C. WRIGHT,	26 Moore Street

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KNAUTH, ANTONIO,	229 Broadway
KNAUTH, MANUEL,	66 Grand Street
KNEVALS, CHARLES B.,	45 Broadway
KNOX, J. JOSEPH,	99 Franklin Street
KOCH, HENRY C. F., . . .	132 West 125th Street
KOHNS, LAZARUS,	42 Warren Street
KOHNS, LEE,	42 Warren Street
KRUTZ, THOMAS S.,	20 Water Street Boston, Mass.
KUNHARDT, HENRY R.,	32 Beaver Street
KUNHARDT, WHEATON B., . . .	32 Beaver Street
LACHMAN, SAMSON,	154 Nassau Street
LAMB, GILBERT D.,	5 Beekman Street
LARDNER, WILLIAM J.,	102 Broadway
LAROCQUE, JOSEPH,	35 William Street
LARREMORE, WILBUR,	32 Nassau Street
LASCELLES, ALFRED S.,	108 Broad Street
LAWRENCE, HENRY C.,	31 Broad Street
LAWSON, LEONIDAS M.,	102 Broadway
LAWTON, FRANCIS,	170 Broadway
LEAVENS, GEORGE ST. J., .	223 East 17th Street
LEAVITT, JOHN BROOKS,	111 Broadway
LEE, W. CREIGHTON,	20 Ferry Street
LEECH, JOHN E.,	72 Pine Street
LE GRAS, GUSTAVE,	17 Lexington Avenue
LEIPZIGER, HENRY M., . . .	36 Stuyvesant Street
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LEOSER, CHARLES MCK.,	34 Beaver Street
LEVY, JEFFERSON M.,	32 Nassau Street
LEWIS, AUGUST,	145 Greene Street

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LEWIS, THEODORE G.,	120 Broadway
LEWIS, THOMAS S.,	45 William Street
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L'HOMMEDIEU, SYLVESTER Y., .	83 Chambers St.
LIVINGSTON, JACOB,	1785 Broadway
LLOYD, JOHN C.,	99 Front Street
LOEB, JAMES,	30 Nassau Street
LOEB, SOLOMON,	30 Nassau Street
LOUGH, E. St. GEORGE, .	118 Produce Exchange
LÖWENGARD, OTTO,	44 Exchange Place
LOWREY, GROSVENOR P.,	3 Broad Street
LÖWY, MAURICE,	83 Franklin Street
LUDLOW, JAMES B.,	49 Exchange Place
LUSK, WILLIAM CHITTENDEN, .	55 West 33d St.
LUSK, WILLIAM T.,	47 East 34th Street
LYDECKER, CHARLES E.,	120 Broadway
LYMAN, JOHN B.,	876 Broadway
LYNCH, JAMES D.,	41 Wall Street
LYNN, JOHN,	48 Bond Street
MACDANIEL, LEONARD O., . .	170 Nassau Street
MACDONA, HENRY D.,	20 Nassau Street
MACFARLANE, WALLACE,	261 Broadway
MACK, ALFRED W.,	137 Eighth Street
MACK, HARRY W.,	120 Broadway
MACK, HUGO S.,	5 Beekman Street
MACK, JACOB W.,	153 West 74th Street
MACK, WALTER S.,	137 Eighth Street
MACKINTOSH, FRANK H.,	59 William Street
MACLAY, ISAAC W.,	120 Broadway
MACPHERSON, INNES R.,	486 Broadway
MAC RAE, WILLIAM F.,	237 Broadway
MACY, ARTHUR,	32 Liberty Street
MACY, I. AUGUSTUS,	66½ Pine Street

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MALI, PIERRE,	329 Broadway
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MANNERS, EDWARD C.,	10 Wall Street
MANNING, ALFRED J., . . .	121 East 23d Street
MANSFIELD, JOHN,	316 East 30th Street
MANTIUS, WILLIAM E., . . .	23 West 33d Street
MARCUS, ARNOLD,	15 Broad Street
MARCUS, GEORGE E.,	857 Broadway
MARSHALL, CHARLES C., . . .	35 William Street
MARSHALL, CHARLES H.,	30 Broadway
MARSHALL, HOWARD P., . . .	18 Cortlandt Street
MASON, ALFRED BISHOP, . . .	16 West 11th Street
MATHEWS, ALBERT,	48 East 26th Street
MATZ, HERMAN L.,	Fordham, N. Y.
McCLOSKEY, HENRY,	100 Broadway
McCLURE, SAMUEL S.,	154 Nassau Street
McCORD, WILLIAM H.,	102 Broadway
McCREERY, JAMES C.,	801 Broadway
McELROY, EDWARD F.,	121 Duane Street
McELWEE, H. W.,	Cotton Exchange Building
McGRATH, JR., ROBT. HUNTER, . . .	32 Nassau St.
McGUCKIN, WILLIAM G.,	17 Lexington Ave.
McINTYRE, THOMAS A.,	19 West 73d Street
McKEEVER, DANIEL,	476 Broadway
McKIBBIN, GILBERT H.,	84 South Fifth Ave.
McNULTY, GEORGE W.,	45 Broadway
McQUADE, PETER,	33 Pearl Street
MEANY, EDWARD P.,	18 Cortlandt Street
MEHLER, EUGENE,	10 Wall Street
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MERRIAM, JAMES F.,	45 Wall Street

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MEYER, ALFRED,	749 Madison Avenue
MEYER, CHARLES B.,	140 Nassau Street
MEYER, HARRY H.,	17 William Street
MEYER, OSCAR R.,	18 Mercer Street
MIDDLETON, JR., JOHN I.,	160 Broadway
MILLER, CHARLES R.,	N. Y. Times
MILLER, GEORGE A.,	54 Wall Street
MILLER, JACOB F.,	120 Broadway
MILLER, J. BLEECKER,	55 Liberty Street
MILLER, JOHN BAILEY,	40 West 59th Street
MINTURN, ROBERT S.,	45 William Street
MITCHELL, PRINGLE,	333 Fourth Avenue
MITCHILL, BLEECKER N.,	142 East 38th Street
MONROE, ROBERT GRIER,	140 Nassau Street
MONTELL, JR., EDWIN A.,	27 Nassau Street
MOORE, ALBERT R.,	170 Broadway
MOORE, ARTHUR L.,	107 Wall Street
MOORE, J. F.,	80 Centre Street
MOORE, JOSEPH S.,	30 Broad Street
MOORE, WM. CLIFFORD,	22 East 33d Street
MOORE, WILLIAM H. H.,	51 Wall Street
MORAN, CHARLES A.,	45 Broadway
MORAN, DANIEL A.,	27 Pine Street
MORGANSTERN, ALBERT G.,	14 East 78th Street
MORGENTHAU, HENRY,	154 Nassau Street
MORRIS, LOUIS W.,	20 Broadway
MORRIS, THEODORE W.,	440 Canal Street
MORRISON, JR., EDWARD A.,	893 Broadway
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MOTT, LEWIS F.,	367 West 19th Street
MUNN, JOHN P.,	18 West 58th Street
MURRAY, JAMES B.,	60 Wall Street
MURRAY, ROBERT M.,	21 Broad Street
MUZZARELLI, A.,	55 West 33d Street
MYERS, NATHANIEL,	45 Wall Street
MYERS, THEODORE W.,	280 Broadway
MYGATT, LEMUEL C.,	242 West 74th Street
NADAL, CHARLES C.,	146 Broadway
NAUMBURG, AARON,	126 Bleecker Street
NAUMBURG, ELKAN,	657 Broadway
NAUMBURG, MAX,	657 Broadway
NAUMBURG, WALTER W.,	657 Broadway
NAUMBURG, WILLIAM,	657 Broadway
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NEWBOLD, GEORGE,	45 East 21st Street
NICHOLAS, GEORGE S.,	43 Beaver Street
NICOLL, ALEXANDER,	771 Broadway
NICOLL, DONALD,	62 East 80th Street
NILES, MARSTON,	155 Broadway
NORTON, Ex.,	50 Exchange Place
O'DONOHUE, JOSEPH J.,	101 Front Street
OFFENBACH, JOSEPH,	51 Exchange Place
OGDEN, DAVID B.,	111 Broadway
OGDEN, FRANCIS L.,	55 Broadway
OGDEN, GOVERNEUR MORRIS, . .	111 Broadway
OGDEN, JR., JAMES L., . .	493 Jersey Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
OGDEN, LOUIS M.,	104 East 30th Street

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OPENHYM, ADOLPHE, 42 Greene Street
OPENHYM, JOSEPH, 42 Greene Street
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OPPER, HENRY L., 75 Spring Street
ORDWAY, SAMUEL H., 31 Nassau Street
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OSBORN, WILLIAM CHURCH, . . . 135 East 36th St.
OSBORNE, JAMES W., 5 Beekman Street
O'SULLIVAN, JEREMIAH, 121 Greene Street
OTTMANN, LOUIS, Fulton Market
OUDIN, LUCIEN, 45 Broadway
OWEN, DANIEL M., 226 East 23d Street
OWENS, WILLIAM F., 52 Broadway
PACKARD, EDWARD W., 54 Wall Street
PAGE, WALTER H., 31 East 17th Street
PAGENSTECHER, ALBRECHT, . 52 West 40th Street
PAIGE, EDWARD WINSLOW, 100 Broadway
PAINE, CHARLES H., 71 Broadway
PAINE, FRANK B. H., 71 Broadway
PALEN, GEORGE, 25 Park Avenue
PALMER, CLINTON, 71 Wall Street
PARKER, GEORGE F., 57 Broadway
PARKIN, WILLIAM, 22 William Street
PATTERSON, GEORGE T., 115 Broadway
PECK, BRONSON, 15 Wall Street
PECK, HENRY T., 41 East 49th Street
PECKHAM, WHEELER H., 80 Broadway
PECKHAM, WILLIAM G., 111 Broadway
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PERKINS, EDWARD C., 115 Broadway

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PERRIN, RAYMOND S.,	1674 Broadway
PETERS, WILLIAM R.,	58 William Street
PETIT, EDWARD ALDEN,	31 Broadway
PETRASCH, CARL SCHURZ, . . .	71 West 55th Street
PEYSER, FREDERICK M., . . .	68 West 47th Street
PEYSER, JOHN F.,	140 Grand Street
PHELPS, CHARLES H.,	31 Broadway
PHELPS, GEORGE M.,	150 Broadway
PINE, JAMES A. W.,	50 Wall Street
PINKUS, FREDERICK S.,	89 Leonard Street
PINKUS, LEOPOLD,	89 Leonard Street
PLATZEK, M. WARLEY,	320 Broadway
POND, WILLIAM F.,	52 Exchange Place
PORTER, ANTHONY B.,	154 Nassau Street
POST, LOUIS F.,	73 Lexington Avenue
POTT, JR., JAMES,	16 Astor Place
POTTER, ORLANDO B.,	38 Park Row
PRATT, JOHN,	32 Nassau Street
PRICE, BRUCE,	150 Fifth Avenue
PRICE, EDWARD A.,	453 Broadway
PRICE, THEODORE H.,	Cotton Exchange Building
PRICE, WALTER W.,	Cotton Exchange Building
PULITZER, JOSEPH,	New York World
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PUTNAM, GEO. HAVEN,	27 West 23d Street
PUTNAM, GEORGE L.,	374 Broadway
PUTNAM, IRVING,	27 West 23d Street
PUTNAM, KINGMAN N.,	16 Exchange Place
QUAINTANCE, JOHN E.,	104 Franklin Street
QUIN, JOHN M.,	30 East 39th Street
QUINBY, JOSEPH R.,	66 Worth Street
RAND, GEORGE C.,	107 Wall Street
RANDOLPH, JAMES F.,	111 Broadway
RANDOLPH, STUART F.,	54 William Street

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REID, WILLARD P., Babylon, L. I.
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REVERE, AUGUSTUS L., . . . Morristown, N. J.
RICHARD, OSCAR L., 61 Broadway
RICHARDS, J. TREDWELL, . . . 58 William Street
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ROBERTS, DAVID H., . . 159 South Fifth Avenue
ROBERTS, MILTON JOSIAH, . 165 West 58th Street
ROBERTSON, HENRY M., 319 Broadway
ROBERTSON, ROBERT H., . . 121 East 23d Street
ROBINSON, THOMAS H., 62 South Street
ROGERS, ALBERT H., 24 West 28th Street
ROGERS, EDWARD L., 7 Wall Street
ROGERS, H. LIVINGSTON, . . . 48 Exchange Place
ROGERS, SAMUEL BLYTHE, 32 Nassau Street
ROGERS, W. H., Herald Building
ROOSEVELT, ROBERT B., 33 Nassau Street
ROOT, CHARLES T., 80 Walker Street
ROOT, FRANK D., 41 Park Row
ROSE, CHARLES FREDERICK, 111 Broadway
ROSENBAUM, HENRY W., . . 60 Exchange Place
ROSENFIELD, GEORGE, 82 Broad Street
ROTH, LUDWIG, 193 William Street
ROTHSCHILD, ALFRED, 440 Broadway
ROTHSCHILD, HUGO, 476 Broome Street
ROTHSCHILD, LOUIS F., 60 Broadway
ROTHWELL, RICHARD P., 27 Park Place
RUDD, ROBERT S., 31 Pine Street
RUSSELL, JAMES C., 105 Front Street
RUSSELL, ROBERT HOWARD, . . 253 Fifth Avenue
RUTTER, ROBERT, 116 East 14th Street
RYLE, ARTHUR, 54 Howard Street

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SACHS, JULIUS,	38 West 59th Street
SACKETT, HENRY W.,	154 Nassau Street
SALOMON, WILLIAM,	11 Broad Street
SAMPSON, GEORGE H.,	23 Park Place
SANDERS, LEWIS,	80 Broadway
SANDFORD, ELLIOT,	32 Nassau Street
SAUNDERS, HOWARD,	10 Wall Street
SAXTON, ALANSON H.,	93 Chambers Street
SCHEEL, JOHN H.,	26 Moore Street
SCHEFER, CARL,	478 Broome Street
SCHEFTEL, EDWIN K.,	31 Spruce Street
SCHERMERHORN, JR., J. MAUS, . . .	41 Park Row
SCHLESINGER, MARK M.,	178 Pearl Street
SCHMIDT, FEDOR,	43 White Street
SCHOENHOF, JACOB,	339 West 29th Street
SCHOTT, JR., CHARLES M.,	72 Broadway
SCHOVERLING, RUDOLPH,	113 Spring Street
SCHULTZ, CARL H.,	440 First Avenue
SCHULZ, ERNEST L. C.,	58 Cliff Street
SCHUMACHER, CHARLES,	42 Exchange Place
SCHUMANN, HUGO,	179 Broadway
SCHURZ, CARL,	37 Broadway
SCHWAB, GUSTAV H.,	2 Bowling Green
SCHWAB, HERMAN C.,	2 Bowling Green
SCOTT, ALBERT E.,	52 New Street
SCOTT, WILLIAM B.,	112 West 122d Street
SCOTT, WILLIAM H.,	46 West 19th Street
SEAMAN, JAMES A.,	45 Broadway
SEAMAN, LOUIS LIVINGSTON, . . .	18 West 31st Street
SELIGMAN, DEWITT J.,	36 Union Square
SELIGSBERG, ALFRED F., . . .	1063 Madison Avenue
SELWYN, ARTHUR H.,	51 Maiden Lane
SEXTON, ALLAN HALE, . . .	80 Washington Square
SEXTON, LAWRENCE E.,	45 William Street

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SHEPARD, EDWARD M.,	111 Broadway
SHERMAN, JOHN T.,	64 Leonard Street
SHERMAN, JOHN THOMAS,	553 Fifth Avenue
SHIPMAN, WILLIAM D.,	35 William Street
SHRIVER, EDWARD J.,	234 Pearl Street
SIBLEY, RICHARD C.,	120 Broadway
SILVEY, JAMES A.,	115 Broadway
SIMONS, EDWARD,	115 Nassau Street
SIMONS, E. HARLESTON,	37 Wall Street
SIMPSON, CHARLES S.,	18 Broadway
SINCLAIR, JOHN,	1 Broadway
SKIDMORE, LEMUEL,	120 Broadway
SLATER, C. M.,	Hotel Marlborough
SMILLIE, G. F. C.,	154 Nassau Street
SMITH, A. P.,	261 Broadway
SMITH, CHARLES ROBINSON,	49 Broadway
SMITH, CHARLES SPRAGUE, . .	264 W. 57th Street
SMITH, CORNELIUS B.,	101 East 69th Street
SMITH, HENRY W.,	11 Pine Street
SMITH, NELSON,	7 Murray Street
SMITH, ORLANDO J.,	32 Vesey Street
SMITH, OSGOOD,	20 Nassau Street
SMITH, SIDNEY D.,	32 Nassau Street
SMITH, W. SYDNEY,	21 West 24th Street
SNOW, FREDERICK A.,	120 Broadway
SORZANO, JULIO F.,	33 Broadway
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SPAULDING, HENRY F.,	628 Fifth Avenue
SPAULDING, HENRY K.,	20 West 43d Street
SPEIR, ARCHIBALD W.,	9 East 34th Street
SPEIR, OSWALD,	160 Broadway
SPENCER, JAMES C.,	280 Broadway
SPENCER, NELSON S.,	31 Nassau Street

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SPEYER, JAMES,	427 Fifth Avenue
SPINNEY, GEORGE F.,	41 Park Row
SPITZNER, GEORGE W.,	128 Water Street
STANTON, T. GILMAN,	458 Broadway
STAPLER, HENRY B. B.,	11 Pine Street
STEBBINS, JAMES F.,	43 East 29th Street
STEERS, ALPHONZO J.,	39 Nassau Street
STEERS, JR., JAMES R.,	55 Liberty Street
STEIN, LEO.,	65 Warren Street
STEIN, SOLOMON,	692 Broadway
STEPHENSON, WALTER T., . . .	114 Fulton Street
STERN, EDWARD A.,	76 East 54th Street
STERN, HENRY,	74 Broadway
STERNBACH, CHARLES,	476 Broadway
STERNBACH, MAURICE C.,	476 Broadway
STERNBACH, MORRIS,	476 Broadway
STERNE, SIMON,	56 Beaver Street
STETSON, FRANCIS LYNDE, .	576 Madison Avenue
STEUERWALD, CHARLES J., . . .	100 Reade Street
STEVENS, FRANK H.,	20 Pearl Street
STEVENSON, HUGH,	59 Liberty Street
STEVENSON, PRESTON,	33 Nassau Street
STEWART, WM. RHINELANDER, .	54 William Street
STIEGLITZ, EDWARD,	96 Franklin Street
STILLMAN, GRANVILLE S. P., . . .	111 Broadway
STOVER, JOSEPH W.,	1½ Barclay Street
STRATFORD, WILLIAM,	245 West 52d Street
STRAUS, LOUIS,	20 Beaver Street
STRAUS, OSCAR S.,	42 Warren Street
STRAUSS, ALBERT,	21 Broad Street
STRAUSS, FREDERICK,	21 Broad Street
STURGES, EDWIN C.,	30 Broadway
STURGES, STEPHEN PERRY, . . .	55 Liberty Street

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SULLIVAN, CHARLES F., 100 Reade Street
SULZBERGER, CYRUS L., 95 Prince Street
SUTTON, JAMES F., 6 East 23d Street
SWEETSER, HOWARD P., 376 Broadway
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SWIFT, WILLIAM J., 40 East 30th Street
SYKES, WILLIAM, 6 Great Jones Street
SYLVESTER, HORACE C., 503 Broadway
TABER, CHARLES, 429 Broadway
TAILER, EDWARD N., 45 White Street
TALBOT, LOWELL, 30 South Street
TALCOTT, WILLIAM, 57 Broadway
TALMADGE, HENRY P., 68 William Street
TAPPAN, JOHN B. C., 44 Broadway
TAUSSIG, WALTER M., 84 Chambers Street
TAYLOR, JOHN A., 111 Broadway
TAYLOR, ROBERT M., 47 West 14th Street
TAYLOR, THOMAS FENTON, 31 Nassau Street
TENNEY, CHARLES H., 2 West 56th Street
TENNEY, DANIEL G., 2 West 56th Street
TENNEY, GEORGE S., 2 West 56th Street
TENNEY, LEVI S., 7 Nassau Street
TERRY, HENRY T., 280 Broadway
TERRY, SETH SPRAGUE, 10 Wall Street
THACHER, ALFRED B., 54 William Street
THACHER, RALPH W., . . . 108 Produce Exchange
THAYER, HARRY B., 22 Thames Street
THOMPSON, CHARLES H., 55 West 26th Street
THOMPSON, DANIEL G., 120 Broadway
THOMPSON, JR., JOSIAH W., . 10 East 28th Street
THOMPSON, ROBERT M., 37 Wall Street
TINKER, HENRY C., 2 Wall Street
TINKHAM, JULIAN R., 310 West 59th Street

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TOBIAS, GEORGE H.,	96 Wall Street
TOLLES, BRAINARD,	32 Nassau Street
TOMKINS, CALVIN,	150 Broadway
TOMPKINS, HAMILTON B.,	229 Broadway
TOWNSEND, GEORGE,	55 West 33d Street
TOWNSEND, JOHN P.,	53 East 54th Street
TRACY, CHARLES EDWARD,	15 Broad Street
TRAITEL, BENJAMIN D.,	499 Fifth Avenue
TRAITEL, BERNARD P.,	499 Fifth Avenue
TRASK, SPENCER,	16 Broad Street
TRENHOLM, WILLIAM L.,	160 Broadway
TRIANA, S. PEREZ,	16 Beaver Street
TUCK, EDWARD,	7 East 61st Street
TUCK, HENRY,	346 Broadway
TUCKER, PREBLE,	5 Beekman Street
TURNER, HERBERT B.,	22 William Street
TURRELL, EDGAR A.,	170 Broadway
TUSKA, SAMUEL A.,	223 East 18th Street
TUTTLE, JOSEPH N.,	155 Broadway
TWINING, KINSLEY,	251 Broadway
TWOMBLY, HORATIO N.,	36 Burling Slip
TYNDALE, HECTOR H.,	45 Wall Street
UHL, JOHN HOWARD,	62 Worth Street
ULMAN, JULIEN STEVENS,	19 Spruce Street
ULMANN, ALBERT,	41 Maiden Lane
ULMANN, BERNHARD,	109 Grand Street
ULMANN, CARL J.,	109 Grand Street
ULMANN, JOE S.,	447 Greenwich Street
ULMANN, LUDWIG,	109 Grand Street
ULMANN, MORRIS S.,	66 West 39th Street
UNDERWOOD, FRANK L.,	33 Wall Street
VALLANDIGHAM, EDWARD N., . .	233 Fifth Avenue
VAN AMRINGE, J. HOWARD, . .	41 East 49th Street
VAN INGEN, EDWARD H.,	490 Broadway

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VAN SCHAICK, JENKINS, 32 Broad Street
VAN WYCK, STEPHEN, 38 Park Row
VAUX, DOWNING, 132 West 21st Street
VERMEULE, JOHN D., 505 Broadway
VIETOR, GEORGE F., 66 Leonard Street
VILAS, GEORGE H., 26 Broadway
VINTON, LINDLEY, 58 William Street
VOUTE, J. OSCAR, 346 Broadway
WAGNER, WILLIAM F., 91 John Street
WAIT, FREDERICK S., 10 Wall Street
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WALES, CHARLES M., 44 Dey Street
WALLACK, WILLY, 231 Broadway
WALRADT, ARTHUR E., 58 William Street
WARNER, ARLON M., 40 Lispenard Street
WARNER, JOHN DEWITT, 52 William Street
WARREN, WILLIAM R., 81 Fulton Street
WARRIN, E., 214 Broadway
WARRIN, FRANK L., 16 Exchange Place
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WERNER, LOUIS, 15 Wall Street
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WETZLAR, GUSTAVE J., 52 Exchange Place
WHEELER, DUNHAM, 115 East 23d Street
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WHEELWRIGHT, WILLIAM D., 82 Wall Street
WHITE, HORACE, 206 Broadway

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WHITMAN, ALFRED A., . .	5 South William Street
WHITNEY, EDWARD B.,	45 Cedar Street
WHITRIDGE, FREDERICK W., . .	59 Wall Street
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WIGGIN, FREDERICK H., . .	55 West 36th Street
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WILKIE, JOHN LINCOLN,	140 Nassau Street
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WILLIAMS, IRVING,	74 Wall Street
WILLIAMS, STEPHEN C.,	45 Broadway
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WOODWARD, RIGNAL D.,	10 Wall Street
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WURSTER, LOUIS,	100 Grand Street
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WYLIE, W. GILL,	40 West 40th Street
YOUNG, JOHN W.,	57 Broadway
YOUNG, SAMUEL W.,	200 West 84th Street
ZIMMERMANN, F. J.,	19 Whitehall Street

In Memoriam

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DIED

BEVAN, GEORGE F., . . .	December 11th, 1889
BOWRON, WATSON A., . . .	November 15th, 1890
BURSLEY, IRA,	October 18th, 1890
CALHOUN, WILLIAM,	October 21st, 1889
DAVISON, HENRY J.,	July 22d, 1890
DE LIMA, DAVID A.,	May 5th, 1891
EDINGER, AUGUSTUS H., . . .	October 31st, 1889
FIELITZ, RICHARD H.,	August 31st, 1890
GILMAN, ARTHUR C., . . .	December 15th, 1890
GREENE, CHESTER L.,	1888
MARTIN, RUFUS,	December 17th, 1889
McFARLAND, W. C.,	February 28th, 1891
MINTURN, ROBERT B., . . .	December 15th, 1890
PEARSON, HENRY G.,	April 20th, 1889
ROSE, CHARLES L. F.,	June 18th, 1891
SCHULTZ, JACKSON S.,	March 1st, 1891
SCHWAB, GUSTAV,	August 21st, 1888
STEVENS, JOSEPH T.,	July 8th, 1888
STUART, JOSEPH,	May 7th, 1890
WETMORE, CHARLES F., . . .	March 29th, 1891
WIGGIN, SAMUEL B.,	September 6th, 1889

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COWLES, JAMES L., South Highlands, Birmingham
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MOSES, ALFRED H., Sheffield
SIMPLE, HARRY C., Montgomery

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LOGAN, HERBERT H., Phoenix

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NORDHOFF, CHARLES, . Coronado, San Diego Co.
ROBINSON, L. L., 32 Sansome St., San Francisco

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LAY, HENRY CHAMPLIN, . . Box 541, Telluride
MERRIAM, ALFRED B., 11 La Veta Place, Denver
MONTGOMERY, R. E., . . Clayton Block, Denver
PORTER, J. A., Durango

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PAINTER, MORRIS L., Greensburgh

PARRISH, JOSEPH, 526 Drexel B'ld'g, Philadelphia

PHILLIPS, JR., HENRY, . . . 1811 Walnut Street,
Philadelphia

PIER, WILLIAM S., . . 38 Bakewell Law Building,
Pittsburgh

PINKERTON, JOHN J., West Chester

PONTEFRACT, JAMES G., . Joseph S. Finch & Co.,
Pittsburgh

POTTS, BENJAMIN C., Media

REYNOLDS, SHELDON, . 8 South Franklin Street,
Wilkesbarre

RICKETTS, R. BRUCE, Wilkesbarre

RIDDLE, ROBERT M., Lansdowne

ROBINS, JR., THOMAS, 1811 Walnut St.,
Philadelphia

RUSH, MURRAY, . . 717 Walnut St., Philadelphia

SCHAMBERG, MAX, . 525 Smithfield St., Pittsburgh

SINGERLY, WILLIAM M., . . . 917 Chestnut St.,
Philadelphia

SMYTH, ALBERT H., . . 118 North Eleventh St.,
Philadelphia

SNYDER, JEFFERSON, 518 Washington St., Reading

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

STEWARDSON, EMLYN L., Chestnut Hill,
Philadelphia

STEWARDSON, JOHN, . . . 212 South Third St.,
Philadelphia

TILGE, JESSE A., . . . 306 New St., Philadelphia

TYSON, A. HARVEY, . . . 526 Court St., Reading

VAUX, RICHARD, Philadelphia

VINCENT, LEON H., Lock Box 911, Philadelphia

WAINWRIGHT, CLEMENT R., . . 1635 Spruce St.,
Philadelphia

WAINWRIGHT, JOSEPH R., . . . 1627 Spruce St.,
Philadelphia

WALKER, JR., HAY, . W. & H. Walker, Pittsburg

WALKER, W., . . . W. & H. Walker, Pittsburg

WARD, FRANK, 35 Fifth Ave., Pittsburg

WHITALL, JOHN M., . 410 Race St., Philadelphia

WILLIAMS, JR., EDWARD H., . . 117 Church St.,
Bethlehem

WILLIAMS, VIN E., Greensburg

WILSON, ALBERT L., Overbrook

WILSON, JOSEPH LOPSLEY, Overbrook

WIRT, PAUL E., Bloomsburg

WISTAR, ISAAC J., . . 301 South Seventeenth St.,
Philadelphia

WOOD, R. FRANCIS, . . . 218 South Fourth St.,
Philadelphia

WOOD, WALTER, . 400 Chestnut St., Philadelphia

WRIGHT, WM. REDWOOD, . . . 305 Walnut St.,
Philadelphia

YARNALL, CHARLTON, . . . 105 South Front St.,
Philadelphia

RHODE ISLAND

ALDRICH, RICHARD, 101 Congdon St., Providence

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

WHEELWRIGHT, CHARLES S., Wickford

SOUTH CAROLINA

BIRD, WILLIAM M., 205 E. Bay St., Charlestown
MURDOCH, JAMES S., 69 Meeting St., Charlestown
YOUmans, LE ROY F., Columbia

TENNESSEE

CALDWELL, ALBERT SLOO., 12 Cotton Exchange,
Memphis

CARROLL, WILLIAM H., Memphis
JOHNSON, EDWIN L., 279 Main Street, Memphis
JUDAH, JOHN M., Cotton Exchange Building,
Memphis

KEATING, J. M., Memphis
LOCKWOOD, LEE J., Memphis
McCONNELL, T. M., Chattanooga
MENKEN, J. S., 371 Main St., Memphis
PATTERSON, JOSIAH, Memphis
SMITH, BOLTON, Memphis

TEXAS

BARKLEY, E. M.,	Dallas
BLUM, LEON,	Galveston
BURKE, FRANK S.,	Houston
CAMERON, W. H.,	Drawer 14, Waco
CHAMBERLAIN, EDWIN,	San Antonio
HUBBARD, G. E.,	El Paso
LASKER, M.,	Galveston

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

PUTMAN, J. A. B., Sulphur Springs
SHEPARD, SETH, Dallas
WATSON, W. C., 106 South Fourth Street, Waco

UTAH

CROSS, R. W., Ogden
HILES, OGDEN, Ogden

VERMONT

BINGHAM, R. J., Middlebury
GRINNELL, A. P., Burlington
HASELTON, SENECA, Burlington
LOOMIS, HORATIO, Burlington
LYMAN, ELIAS, Burlington
MARSH, EDWARD S., Brandon
PHELPS, EDWARD J., Burlington
WOODWARD, JAMES H., . . . 162 College Street,
Burlington

VIRGINIA

BLAIR, LEWIS H., 511 East Grace St., Richmond
BRYAN, JOSEPH, Box 272, Richmond
DAVENPORT, G. A., 1113 E. Main St., Richmond
GINTER, LEWIS, Richmond
GREENE, EDWARD APPLETON, . . . Alexandria
LANDALE, RUSSELL H., Warrenton
MCGUIRE, F. H., . . 1113 Main St., Richmond
MYERS, E. T. D., . . . 513 West Franklin St.,
Richmond
NEWTON, VIRGINIUS, . 1113 Main St., Richmond
STORY, J. P., U. S. Army, Fort Munroe
TUNSTALL, RICHARD B., . 108 Main St., Norfolk
WILLIAMS, CHARLES U., . . . 1104 Main Street,
Richmond
WILLIAMS, JOHN L., . 1111 Main St., Richmond

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

WASHINGTON

BROWNELL, FRANCIS H., . . . 518 Washington
Building, Tacoma
GRAVES, EDWARD O., Seattle
LANE, FRANKLIN K., . . "Tacoma Daily News,"
Tacoma
WATSON, FREDERICK . . 929 C. Street, Tacoma

WEST VIRGINIA

JEPSON, FRANKLIN P., . . Bank of the Ohio Valley,
Wheeling

WISCONSIN

KENT, GEORGE HENRY, . . Chapin Mining Co.,
Milwaukee
MITCHELL, JOHN L., . . Wis. Marine & Fire Ins.
Co. Bank, Milwaukee
NIEMAN, L. W., "Milwaukee Journal,"
Milwaukee
PEABODY, GEORGE FREDERICK, . . 824 College
Ave., Appleton
SCHLEY, BRADLEY G., . . New Insurance B'l'dg,
Milwaukee
TAYLOR, DOUGLAS, Appleton
VILAS, WILLIAM F., Madison
WALL, E. C., Milwaukee

WYOMING

EVANS, HARTMAN KUHN, Laramie

BRITISH COLUMBIA

ROGERS, BENJAMIN T., . . "Hotel Vancouver,"
Vancouver

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

CUBA

BUTLER, HOWARD G., . Constancia, Cienfuegos

ENGLAND

STROBEL, EDWARD H., . Brown, Shipley & Co.,
London

WARRIN, M. L., Macmillan & Co.,
29 Bedford St., London.

In Memoriam

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

ALSOP, JOSEPH W.,	June 24th, 1891
BIDDLE, A. SYDNEY,	April 6th, 1891
BROWNLEE, WILLIAM G., . .	November 25th, 1889
COLLINS, GEORGE,	July, 1890
DAWSON, F. W.,	March 12th, 1889
FARLOW, J. S.,	March 24th, 1890
HUN, LEONARD G.,	March 11th, 1891
JOHNSTON, ALEXANDER,	July 20th, 1889
KRETZSCHMAR, PAUL H.,	April 27th, 1891
MACKALL, LEONARD C.,	May 6th, 1890
McFADON, ROBERT D.,	November 3d, 1890
PAUL, GEORGE H.,	May 18th, 1890
PULSIFER, R. M.,	October 19th, 1888
SAVAGE, JAMES W.,	November 22d, 1890
STEVENSON, WILLIAM G.,	July 31st, 1890
WILSON, EUGENE M.,	April 25th, 1890

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION
OF THE
REFORM CLUB

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

That we, ANSON PHELPS STOKES, GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM, RUSSELL STURGIS, EVERETT P. WHEELER, IRA BURSLEY, CONSTANT A. ANDREWS, ROBERT B. ROOSEVELT, EUGENE G. BLACKFORD, WILLIAM M. IVINS, DANIEL H. CHAMBERLAIN, R. R. BOWKER, JOHN C. LLOYD, HENRY B. B. STAPLER, EDWARD P. DOYLE, ROBERT G. MONROE, JOHN DE WITT WARNER, E. L. GODKIN and E. J. DONNELL, all citizens of the United States; a majority of whom are also citizens of the State of New York; being desirous of forming ourselves into a society or club for social purposes under the provisions of Chapter 267 of the Laws of the State of New York of the year 1875, and the Acts amending the same, hereby certify as follows:

First.—The name or title, by which the society or club into which we desire to form ourselves as aforesaid shall be known in law, shall be the "Reform Club."

Second.—The particular business or object of such society or club shall be to promote social intercourse among ourselves and others, our associates and successors, and to promote such economic and political reforms as may from time to time, in

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

the opinion of ourselves and others, our associates or successors, governed by a patriotic desire to conserve the common weal, be most conducive to the general good of the people of the United States, in their national, state, or municipal government, and for that purpose to establish and maintain in the City and County of New York, for the use of ourselves and such others above mentioned, a Club-house, having a library, a reading-room, a publication office for the distribution of the publications of the Club, and such other appurtenances and belongings as are usual in Clubs and in Club-houses and publishing offices.

Third.—The number of Trustees, Directors or Managers to manage the said Society or Club shall be fifteen.

Fourth.—The names of the Trustees, Directors or Managers of said Society or Club for the first year of its existence are

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM
RUSSELL STURGIS
EVERETT P. WHEELER
IRA BURSLEY
CONSTANT A. ANDREWS
ROBERT B. ROOSEVELT
EUGENE G. BLACKFORD
WILLIAM M. IVINS
JOHN C. LLOYD
R. R. BOWKER
DANIEL H. CHAMBERLAIN
HENRY B. B. STAPLER
E. L. GODKIN
E. J. DONNELL

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have to this Certificate respectively signed our names this ninth day of January, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight:

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM
RUSSELL STURGIS
EVERETT P. WHEELER
IRA BURSLEY
CONSTANT A. ANDREWS
R. B. ROOSEVELT
EUGENE G. BLACKFORD
WILLIAM M. IVINS
DANIEL H. CHAMBERLAIN
R. R. BOWKER
JOHN C. LLOYD
HENRY B. B. STAPLER
EDWARD P. DOYLE
ROBERT GRIER MONROE
JOHN DE WITT WARNER
E. J. DONNELL
E. L. GODKIN

CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK, ss.:

On the 9th day of January, 1888, before me, personally, came Anson Phelps Stokes, George Haven Putnam, Russell Sturgis, Everett P. Wheeler, Ira Bursley, Constant A. Andrews, Robert B. Roosevelt, Eugene G. Blackford, William M. Ivins, Daniel H. Chamberlain, R. R. Bowker, John C. Lloyd, Henry B. B. Stapler, Edward P. Doyle, Robert G. Monroe, and John De Witt Warner, known to me to be the individuals described in and who executed

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

the foregoing instrument, and they severally acknowledged that they executed the same for the purposes therein mentioned.

WILLIS B. DOWD,

Notary Public,

New York County.

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION

[Endorsement.]

“The within Certificate of Incorporation is filed with my consent and approbation.

“GEORGE P. ANDREWS,

“*Justice of the Supreme Court.*

“NEW YORK, January 13th, 1888.”

CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
REFORM CLUB

I. PURPOSES

THE REFORM CLUB is organized to promote honest, efficient and economical government, and will welcome citizens who agree with its policy in respect to the tariff, as hereinafter set forth, including those who are yet more directly concerned in promoting a non-partisan civil-service, sound currency, the business administrations of cities or the improvements of electoral methods.

The Club has for its immediate purpose tariff reform, by reduction or abrogation of so-called protective taxes, especially of those either so discouraging to imports as to yield to the Government but a small revenue when compared with the enormous subsidies thereby compelled to be paid by the people at large to the favored few, or so enhancing the cost of materials to our manufacturers as to bar them from the markets of the world.

II. TRUSTEES

The entire charge and control of the affairs of the Club shall be vested in a Board of fifteen Trustees, except as hereinafter provided.

CONSTITUTION

On the first Tuesday of December of each year shall be held the annual meeting of the Club, at which shall be elected by ballot five Trustees, to hold office for the three calendar years from the first day of January next ensuing ; and at which there shall also be elected Trustees to fill any vacancies then existing in the Board to hold office respectively until the expiration of the terms for which the Trustees were elected whose offices shall then be vacant. Trustees elected to fill vacancies shall take office immediately upon their election. The Trustees now in office shall continue in office until the expiration of their present term.

The Board of Trustees shall elect the officers of the Club and shall elect the President, Secretary and Treasurer from their own number, and the ten Vice-Presidents either from their own number or from the Club at large.

The board of Trustees shall appoint the Committees hereinafter designated and such other Committees as they shall deem wise, and may confer such duties on such Committees as they see fit.

From those recommended by the Committee on Admissions the Board of Trustees may elect to membership in the Club.

The Trustees may establish the method of acquiring and holding property, and making disbursements. They may appoint such agents and clerks as they shall deem necessary, and may make rules and regulations on all questions not determined in the Act of Incorporation or in this Constitution. They shall cause full reports to be made of the affairs of the Club at all annual meetings.

The Board of Trustees shall have power to drop

CONSTITUTION

suspend or expel members as hereinafter provided and not otherwise, and may receive and accept resignations from membership in the Club and in its own body.

The Board of Trustees shall hold monthly meetings, which meetings shall be held on the third Tuesday of each month, unless a different day shall be fixed by the Board.

Special meetings of the Board of Trustees may be called at any time upon the direction of the President or of at least five Trustees. No business shall be transacted at any special meeting, except such whereof notice shall have been given in the call therefor.

Any Trustee who shall absent himself from three consecutive regular meetings of the Board, without being excused, may be deemed to have tendered the resignation of his Trusteeship, and his place may be considered vacant.

III. OFFICERS

The officers of the Club shall be a President, ten Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Club and of the Board of Trustees. He shall be *ex-officio* member of all committees, and shall call a special meeting of the Club when so requested in writing by fifteen resident members, or may call such meeting at any time at his own option.

In the absence of the President each Vice-President in his order of precedence in the Club book shall perform all the duties of the President,

CONSTITUTION

except those of presiding and voting in the Board of Trustees if he is not a member of the Board.

The Secretary shall keep minutes of the meetings of the Club, of the Board of Trustees, and of the Executive Committee. He shall notify officially any officer, committee or person, of any action of the Board of Trustees which should be communicated to them; and shall conduct such correspondence as the Board of Trustees or the Executive Committee may direct. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to give notice of all meetings of the Club or the Board of Trustees.

The Treasurer shall collect and receive all money of the Club and disburse it under the direction of the Board of Trustees. He shall receive the dues and accounts of members, and give receipts for the same. He shall keep accurate books of account and make reports thereof at the monthly meetings of the Board of Trustees. He shall deposit, in the name of the Club, all moneys collected by him in some Trust Company or bank to be approved by the Board of Trustees to be drawn out only in payment for bills which shall have been approved by the Board of Trustees, or in pursuance of appropriation made by them, and certified to the Treasurer by the Secretary. At the Annual Meeting of the Club, and at the expiration of his term of office, he shall submit a final report with vouchers for audit.

IV. COMMITTEE ON ADMISSIONS

There shall be a Committee on Admissions, to consist of fifteen members, whose duty it shall be

CONSTITUTION

to consider proposals and applications for membership, and to report to the Board of Trustees its recommendation as to those proposed or applying for membership whom it shall consider to be eligible. The proceedings of this Committee shall be secret and confidential.

No member of this Committee shall propose or second any candidate for membership in the Club.

V. MEMBERSHIP

There shall be two classes of membership, resident and non-resident. Resident members shall pay an admission fee of twenty-five dollars until the resident membership shall have reached one thousand. When the number of resident members shall have reached one thousand, the Secretary shall post upon the Club bulletin and mail to each member a statement of that fact, together with a notice that the admission fee will thereafter be raised to fifty dollars, and all candidates for resident membership whose names are presented more than five days after such posting and the mailing of such notice shall upon election pay the admission fee of fifty dollars. Resident members shall also pay half yearly dues of twenty dollars, payable upon qualifying as members and on the first Tuesdays of January and July in each year.

Any member or member elect may become a life member by the payment of five hundred dollars, and in such case shall not be further liable for admission fee or dues, but shall have all the privileges and rights of a resident member, and

CONSTITUTION

shall be subject to the provisions as to expulsion or suspension.

Non-resident members shall pay no admission fee, but shall pay yearly dues of ten dollars, payable upon qualifying as a member and on the first Tuesday of January in each year. All dues received from non-resident members shall be applied directly to the support of the work undertaken by the Club for tariff reform and other reforms within the scope of the purposes of the Club, as expressed in its Constitution. No person shall be a non-resident member who resides or has an office in New York City. Non-resident members shall have the right to use the property of the Club, but no other interest in it, and may be present at all its meetings, but shall not vote thereat, and need not be notified thereof.

Members shall not be required to pay dues for any half year during the whole of which they shall be absent from the United States.

No person is eligible to membership who is not an American citizen at the time of his election.

Any person elected to membership who shall fail to qualify for two months after notice of his election may be considered to have declined, and his election shall become null and void, on resolution to such effect of the Board of Trustees.

Any member in good standing and not indebted to the Club may withdraw by resigning, and thereby relinquishes all right in the property of the Club.

Resignations of membership shall be made to the Secretary in writing.

CONSTITUTION

All notices mailed to addresses recorded on the Club books shall be valid for all purposes.

Any member neglecting to pay his dues to the Club for the space of two months after his name shall have been posted one month may be dropped or suspended by the Board of Trustees.

Any member violating any rule of the Club may be suspended by the Board of Trustees; such suspension to require a two-thirds vote of the entire Board of Trustees. Any member guilty of conduct detrimental to the interest of the Club may be expelled by a two-thirds vote of the Board of Trustees.

Any member expelled or dropped from the Club shall forfeit all right in its property and franchises.

No action of this Club either through the Trustees or in general meeting of the Club, can be understood to bind or pledge the individual members of the Club as to their political or other action.

VI. COMMITTEES

There shall be an Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees consisting of the members assembled on call for a meeting of the Board, of which Committee five members shall constitute a quorum. The Executive Committee shall have such power as the Board shall authorize it to exercise, when the Board is not in session. There shall also be the following Standing Committees, which shall be appointed by the Board of Trustees:

1. A Committee on Admission.
2. A House Committee.

CONSTITUTION

3. A Committee on the Library.
4. A Committee on the Reform of the Tariff.
5. A Committee on the Reform of the Civil Service.
6. A Committee on Municipal Reform.
7. A Committee on Electoral Reform.

Except the Executive Committee and the Committee on Admissions, all the above Committees shall consist of five members, unless otherwise ordered by the Board of Trustees. All the committees, except the Executive Committee, may be appointed from the Club at large, except that the Chairman shall in each case be a member of the Board of Trustees. They shall incur no expense unless authorized by the Board of Trustees. The work of all these Committees and such others as may be appointed shall be under the direction of the Board of Trustees.

At the stated meeting of the Board of Trustees in October of each year, there shall be elected as a Nominating Committee, five resident members, not members of the Board. This Committee shall cause to be posted in the Club House at least twenty days before the date of the annual meeting, its nominations for members of the Board of Trustees to be elected at such annual meeting.

The Secretary of the Club shall post in the Club House at least ten days before the date of the annual meeting of the Club the names of nominees for the board of Trustees, which nominations shall have been made in writing and signed by at least ten members of the Club, and sent to the Secretary before that time. The names of the persons

CONSTITUTION

presenting such nominations shall also be posted in the same manner.

VII. HOLDING OVER IN OFFICE AND FILLING VACANCIES TEMPORARILY

Officers of the Club and members of the Board of Trustees shall hold over until their successors shall have been chosen; Committees shall hold over until the Board of Trustees shall replace them or shall otherwise direct. The Board of Trustees may fill vacancies in its own body till the next annual election. Each Committee, except the Executive Committee, may fill vacancies in its body until action of the Board of Trustees.

VIII. MEETINGS.

There shall be an annual meeting of the Club on the first Tuesday of December in each year for the election of Trustees, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly be brought before such meeting, but, except by unanimous consent, no action by such meeting shall be taken on any subject, except the said election of Trustees, unless notice of the purpose to bring such subject before the meeting shall have been given to the members of the Club through the Secretary at least one week before the date of the meeting.

The polls for the election for members of the Board of Trustees shall be open at six o'clock and shall close at ten. The voting shall be by ballot, and the candidate receiving the highest number of votes for a position to be filled shall be elected.

CONSTITUTION

The meeting for the transaction of business shall be called together at half-past eight o'clock or as soon thereafter before half-past nine as may be convenient.

A special meeting of the Club may be held upon the call of the President, of the Board of Trustees or of fifteen members. Five days notice in writing of such meeting shall be given to the resident members of the Club, mailed to their addresses, recorded on the Club books, and which notice shall contain a statement of the object of such special meeting, and at such special meetings no subject not so stated shall be considered.

Meetings of the Club shall be conducted according to the rules in Cushing's Manual so far as applicable.

Fifty members of the Club shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at meetings of the Club.

Two-thirds of those voting shall be necessary for the expression of any statement of the Club's policy or conviction on any public question.

No resolution endorsing any individual as a candidate for any political office shall be adopted by the Club, the Board of Trustees or by any Committee of the Club.

IX. CLUB RULES

By-Laws and Club Rules may be made, altered or repealed by the Board of Trustees at any time, and shall take effect upon posting of the same at the Club House. It shall be the duty of each Committee to recommend to the Trustees such

CONSTITUTION

Club Rules as it considers advisable concerning matters which it has in charge.

X. AMENDMENT

This Constitution may be amended by the vote of a majority of the whole Board of Trustees, approved at a meeting of the Club by a two-thirds vote; but no amendment shall be voted on by the Club unless the proposed form of the amendment shall have been posted in the Club House for twenty days prior to the meeting at which the same shall be voted upon, and a copy of the same shall have been mailed to each member of the Club at his address on the Club books through the Secretary, at least ten days before such meeting.

BY-LAWS

BY-LAWS

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The following order of business shall be observed at the meeting of the Board of Trustees:

- 1.—Reading the minutes of the previous meeting.
- 2.—Reports of Officers.
- 3.—Reports of Committees.
- 4.—Elections.
- 5.—Miscellaneous Business.

GUESTS

Guests may be admitted to the Club when accompanied by a member, unless otherwise ordered by the Board of Trustees.

The House Committee may issue to persons not residing in the City of New York cards granting the privileges of the Club for periods not exceeding one month.

RULES

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY

AUG 29 1921

HOUSE RULES

I.—The Club House will be open for members every day from 7 o'clock, A. M., from the first of May to the first of November, and from 8 o'clock, A. M., during the remainder of the year—until one o'clock, A. M.

II.—Guests may be admitted to the Club when accompanied by a member.

III.—Smoking will not be allowed in the library at any time, nor in the restaurant until eight o'clock, P. M. Pipe smoking will not be permitted in any part of the house, except in the grill room.

IV.—The Library, being intended for research and study, no loud conversation will be permitted in the same, nor will beverages of any kind be served therein.

V.—No game or play, for a wager of money or stakes of any kind, will be allowed in the Club House.

VI.—No books, magazines, newspapers or other articles, the property of the Club, shall be removed from the House, nor shall they be cut, marked or otherwise defaced.

VII.—All orders and alterations of orders for articles served from the kitchen, wine-room or elsewhere, must be signed by members.

VIII.—Members introducing guests shall be held responsible for all debts incurred by them to the Club.

IX.—As soon after the first of each month as possible a notice of the amount of his indebt-

HOUSE RULES

edness shall be sent to each member in arrears on the last day of the preceding month. If not paid on or before the fifteenth day of the month, the name of such member, together with the amount due, shall be posted on the bulletin board, and notice of such posting shall be forwarded by mail to such member. A member notified of such posting of his name shall liquidate the debt within one month after such posting, under penalty of suspension from privileges of the Club in the discretion of the Board of Trustees.

X.—Servants are not permitted to leave the House on errands for members.

XI.—Servants are not permitted to receive any money or gratuity under any pretense whatsoever.

XII.—Members are requested to make written suggestions to the House Committee of any matter in the administration of the House seeming to need correction, and deposit the same in the House Committee box.

XIII.—The Clerk is required to notify members of any violation by them of the rules of the House and to report the same to the House Committee.

JOINT RULE OF HOUSE AND LIBRARY COMMITTEES

No magazines or periodicals which are placed in the parlor for the use of members of the Club shall be taken from the parlor except under the direction of the House Committee. At the end of each month those intended for preservation shall be removed to the library. No books, magazines, periodicals shall be taken from the library, except under the direction of the Library Committee.

RULES OF COMMITTEE ON ADMISSIONS

I.—Names of candidates for resident membership must be proposed in writing, and such proposal shall be seconded in writing.

Both Proposer and Seconder must be resident members of the Club.

II.—The proposal should contain the name of the candidate in full, his business and residence address, and the nature of his business. And the name and address of such candidate, with the names of Proposer and Seconder, and the date of the receipt of such proposal, shall be posted at the Club House, for at least two weeks before the name of the candidate may be acted on by the Committee on Admissions.

III.—Forthwith upon the receipt of a proposal properly seconded for resident membership, the Secretary shall forward to both Proposer and Seconder blanks to be filled by each as to the qualifications of the nominee, to be returned to the Committee at least ten days before the meeting at which the name of any candidate for resident membership may be acted upon. No candidate for resident membership shall be recommended for admission by the Committee on Admissions, unless personally known to some member of the Committee, or unless at least two letters favoring his admission shall have been received from resident members of the Club, in

RULES OF COMMITTEE ON ADMISSIONS

addition to those received from his Proposer and Seconder.

IV.—Candidates for non-resident membership may be proposed and seconded by either resident or non-resident members of the Club. No second to such proposal is necessary, although recommended.

V.—Persons desiring to become non-resident members may make application to this Committee in writing, and upon satisfactory investigation, the Committee may elect such applicants, non-resident members, at its discretion.

(In case of such applicants, the Committee respectfully suggests that they refer to members of the Club with whom they are acquainted, as this not only lightens the Committee's work but greatly hastens their election.)

VI.—No member of the Committee on Admissions may either propose or second a candidate for resident or non-resident membership, but reference may be made to such members by an applicant for non-resident membership.

VII.—Two weeks before the meeting of the Committee, the Secretary shall forward to each Committeeman a printed list of the names of candidates for resident and non-resident membership, and shall especially assign to each member particular candidates for resident membership for special investigation.

VIII.—Members of the Committee shall indicate to the Secretary in writing, on receipt of said list, the names of candidates for non-resident membership, of whom they have particular knowledge, and the Secretary shall investigate all the proposals and applications for non-resident membership not so certified to.

RULES OF COMMITTEE ON ADMISSIONS

IX.—Members of this Committee shall return all lists of names sent them at the meeting immediately following their receipt.

X.—All communications sent to this Committee by any member of the Club, concerning any proposed member or applicant, shall be destroyed by the Secretary at the meeting of said Committee, where the name of said proposed member or applicant is acted upon, and no minutes of such action shall be kept.

All meetings of this Committee shall be secret.

XI.—No member of this Committee may absent himself from more than one meeting, except by excuse presented to the Chairman of the Committee, and any member absenting himself from more than two consecutive meetings of this Committee, without informing the Committee of his proposed absence, shall be considered to have resigned from this Committee, and the Chair shall be empowered to appoint some member of the Club in the resigned member's place.

COMMITTEE ON ADMISSIONS.

Adopted December 17, 1889.

REPORTS

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON
TARIFF REFORM
I
AS TO WORK IN 1890.

(FROM REPORT, DECEMBER 31, 1890)

In our report for 1889 we thus outlined our plans for the future :

“The work in this city should proceed on the plan reported above. The poll canvass of this State should be completed as promptly as possible, and the campaign of agitation and non-partisan discussion of tariff questions pushed, till every quarter of the State is covered. In other States, the work should be stimulated and mutual co-operation arranged for. The present most effective work of our Committee on Press should be continued and in scope broadened. Details as to each plant should now be added to the systematic classification by locality and class already made of the manufacturing plants of the country. The preparation and publication should be pushed of the special discussions on tariff questions already announced, and such others as may prove urgently needed. Our stock of tariff reform literature should be kept up and added to so as to meet the responsibility now resting upon us — as the only general bureau in America for such literature ; and during 1890 the Committee on Congress should do its best work.”

We are now so fortunate as to be able to report that each of these lines of work has been carried

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through to successful completion by the extraordinary self-sacrifice of those to whom they were entrusted, and the never-failing generosity of those to whom we were already greatly indebted for financial support.

To take up the work in detail:

UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF MR. ELLERY ANDERSON, THE WORK IN THIS CITY has progressed as follows: Early in the year the large meeting room of the second floor of Cooper Union, capable of seating about three hundred people, was secured for the purpose of a tariff reform school, the aim of which was, by addresses from those specially qualified to speak on specified subjects, to furnish an opportunity to those willing to take part in the discussion of tariff questions thoroughly to prepare themselves. At each meeting literature was distributed bearing upon the subject to be discussed at the following meeting.

The first meeting was held March 14th * * *. Twelve meetings were held in successive weeks. The audiences averaged about 150, sometimes rising to between two and three hundred, a large majority of the former number being of those who attended all of the meetings of the series. Though their addresses were generally finished before ten o'clock, the audiences kept up a lively questioning until after eleven.

* * * * *

Almost immediately after the close of this series of meetings, an organization known as the Workingmen's Tariff Reform League was formed by a number of those who had been regular attendants. In July last the Manhattan Single Tax Club

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invited the Reform Club, the Harlem Democratic Club, the Workingmen's Tariff Reform League, and a number of similar organizations, to unite with them in a movement to secure the nomination of strong and capable candidates to represent this city in Congress. These organizations formed a joint organization known as the Tariff Reform Congressional League. The chairman of your Sub-Committee was elected the President, and the active men of this Sub-Committee became active members of the League. The League and all its members were constantly at work through the months of August, September, and a large part of October. In the Eleventh Congressional District, through the efforts of Mr. Stapler, Mr. Woodward and other members of the Reform Club, and of a most effective local organization (the Eleventh Congressional District Tariff Reform League), a strong movement was made for the nomination of Mr. John De Witt Warner, and an enrollment secured of some fifteen hundred voters of the district, including members of all the Democratic local organizations, who pledged him their support.

Early in October the committee appointed to confer with the Tammany Hall and County Democracy leaders, consisting of Mr. John A. Mason, Mr. H. B. B. Stapler, and Mr. Jason Hinman, obtained from the County Democracy representatives an assurance that they would place Mr. Warner in nomination. A little later the nomination was secured. It received the endorsement of the Tammany Hall Democracy, and resulted in the election of Mr. Warner by a

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majority which in itself is an eloquent commendation of the labors of all those who participated in this result. * * *

The result of the unremitting presentation of Tariff Reform questions to the intelligent voters of this city is found in the fact that out of an aggregate of 179,583 votes cast for all the candidates for Congress in this city, 136,106 were cast for the Democratic candidates who advocated Tariff Reform, against 43,477 cast for Republicans, showing a clean Democratic majority, on national issues, in this city of 92,629 electors.* *

IN REFERRING TO THE WORK OF MR. HINMAN'S COMMITTEE IN NEW YORK STATE, the only apology that can be made, on the one hand for the extent to which it is mentioned, and on the other for the summary character with which much of it must be treated, is that its extent, its variety, its effectiveness, and the energy and self-sacrifice necessary to have carried it through to success in each direction in which it was undertaken, have been of a character unexampled in work of this nature. The principal omission of its Chairman's report being thus supplied no abstract can be so effective as the following condensation and quotations therefrom:

1. POLL CANVASS. By a report made to the General Committee on Tariff Reform, under date February 6th, 1889, your Sub-Committee on New York State recommended the preparation of a complete address list of the voters in the state, outside of a few of the largest cities, which should show the occupation, politics, opinion on the tariff, and whether or not each was a veteran or Grand Army man.

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This poll is now practically completed. In only two counties—Clinton and Essex—has it not been begun. In three others—Chenango, Columbia and Madison—there are still several towns to be canvassed. We now have in the office, classified as indicated, the names of 659,100 voters; and we think that the poll can be entirely completed at an expense not exceeding \$500.

Without this classified poll, even if we had a list of the names of voters, we should have been compelled, in order to reach the 380,000 voters who have, during the past year, received through us appropriate tariff reform literature, to have distributed, on the average, at least two and a half times as many of each document.

The classified count of the voters in the various counties was, moreover, of great use to the debaters who represented the Club at the county fair debates which attracted so much attention, and produced so great an effect during the early fall.

2. DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE. Since the last annual report of your Sub-Committee, we have distributed (a.) Copies of "Tariff Reform" numbers 219,736, (b.) Newspapers 159,684.

3. SYSTEMATIC CAMPAIGN IN RURAL COUNTIES. During our earlier work we selected the most remote and completely agricultural counties; in our later work the counties selected were in doubtful Congressional districts. The first campaign of this kind was opened on January 13th, 1890, in Livingston County, and all the meetings of that first experimental series were made thoroughly successful by the organizer, Mr. Charles W. Hamilton, employed by your Sub-Committee, and

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by the speakers, Mr. Warner and Mr. Logan, who consented to sacrifice their own convenience to undertake the burdensome work, and Mr. W. B. Estell who was employed for it. Campaigns were also held during the months of February, March and April, in Allegany, Yates, Ontario and Cattaraugus Counties; and during May and June in Wayne and Genesee Counties. During the last of September, campaigns were undertaken in Rockland, Orange, Herkimer, Seneca, Schuyler, Sullivan and Tompkins Counties. In the entire series one hundred and sixty-eight meetings were held in rural villages and 35,000 voters directly reached.

The speakers who did the greatest share of the work for your Sub-Committee in these campaigns, at great sacrifice to themselves, were Mr. Warner, Chairman of our General Committee, who spent a week in Livingston County and a week in Wayne County; Mr. Louis F. Post, who spent a week in Allegany and nearly two weeks in Herkimer; Mr. Walter S. Logan, Mr. William T. Croasdale, Hon. George M. Yeaman, Mr. Henry T. Terry, Mr. Frank M. Todd, Mr. George P. Decker, Mr. John Brooks Leavitt, Mr. W. B. Estell, Mr. J. P. Jones and Mr. F. A. Herwig.

4. COUNTY FAIR DEBATES. The first suggestion of these came from Mr. Geo. P. Decker of Rochester.

Meetings had been held and literature distributed in many quarters of this State, and the farmers were thoroughly alive to the question. A joint debate upon this subject, therefore, would serve as a unique and very strong attraction for

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the county fairs. Our agents were instructed to say, and did say, that if the local agricultural societies thought best to undertake the holding of such debates, the Reform Club would undertake to supply a tariff reform debater of national reputation.

The local societies seem to rely entirely upon the American Protective Tariff League for speakers, and at first were inclined themselves to extend the invitation to the League, and not to ask us to challenge it. On July 22d this Sub-Committee definitely challenged the American Protective Tariff League to send debaters to meet its representatives at numerous fairs where debates had already been arranged. Sixteen debates were covered by this challenge.

It became clearly evident, not merely from their delay, but from the advices which came to us from our agents in the State, and from the officers of local societies, that the protectionists hoped to prevent the holding of any such debates by exhausting the patience of the local agricultural societies, where it was not possible by active interference to induce them in the first instance to refuse their consent. Some of them did drop the matter entirely. It seemed, therefore, that the only way in which the protectionists could be brought to time was by a public advertisement of their evident scheme to prevent the fair and open discussion of the tariff at the local fairs. The *Times*, *World* and *Herald* on August 13th publicly accused the protectionists of cowardice, and on the next day we learned from the newspapers that the protectionists were

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in Washington on a hunt for speakers: and about a week later speakers were definitely named for two or three debates. But it was not until the 29th of August, after two debates had been held, that your Sub-Committee received from the American Protective Tariff League its acceptance of our challenge. By this course the protectionists succeeded in preventing the arrangements for debates in several counties, including Suffolk, Dutchess, Washington, Saratoga, Clinton, Niagara, Genesee, Wyoming, Seneca and Monroe.

But protectionists' cowardice, and efforts to prevent the discussion of the tariff before the farmers, were generally unsuccessful, and debates were arranged and advertised at forty-one local fairs. One debate was given up by mutual understanding, the fair being abandoned on account of the rain. In one case the champion of protection refused to debate in the court house, when driven from the fair ground by rain. At five points the protectionists defaulted, and at three of these five places our debaters were not allowed by the local Republican societies to preach the heresy of tariff reduction. At thirty-four points the protectionists actually met us, with what result is to be gathered, not only from the very full press reports at the time, but from the results at the last Congressional election as well. Out of the fourteen Republican Congressional districts in which debates were held, five were won for tariff reform, in one there was no Democratic candidate, and in every one of the other eight the Republican majority was largely reduced.

In these debates the Reform Club was repre-

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sented on one or more occasions by each of the following:—Hon. Wm. M. Springer, Hon. George H. Yeaman, Hon. Michael D. Harter, Hon. John E. Russell, Hon. Justin R. Whiting, Hon. Wm. A. Beach, Hon. Mark D. Wilbur, Hon. Wm. D. Bynum, Hon. Wm. L. Wilson, Hon. Everett P. Wheeler and Hon. Thomas G. Shearman.

Of course these debates gave occasion for scores of witty sayings and pungent arguments, which deserve to be remembered. In the debate at Margaretville, in Delaware County, Mr. Springer brought the tears to the eyes of many of his hearers: “I tell you, my friends, the time is now coming, and that very speedily, when you must choose between the ‘grand old party’ and the dear old homestead.” * * *

In submitting this report, the Chairman wishes to express his sincere appreciation of the work done by Mr. W. F. Hull and Mr. Calvin Tomkins of this Sub-Committee, and of the loyal service rendered the Committee by its agents, Messrs. Charles W. Hamilton, W. B. Estell, B. D. Beal, and John Farley.

THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE ON OTHER STATES, MR. BALDWIN, CHAIRMAN, has been scarcely less interesting and effective. Recognizing the fact that the Reform Club could not be expected to undertake propaganda work for the whole country, its energies were at first mainly directed to opening communications with local clubs and procuring the organization of such in quarters where they were not already in existence, and generally to co-operating with all the organizations outside of the State, engaged in any branch

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of tariff reform work. Sample poll canvass blanks were furnished, specimen copies of our literature distributed, blank forms of constitution and by-laws for tariff reform clubs furnished for local use, and in general, the facilities of this Club brought to the acquaintance and put at the disposal of our friends all over the country.

There was found a general willingness to adopt our method of poll canvass. In Iowa, Connecticut, Washington, Maryland, South Dakota, Michigan and Wisconsin this work was done with considerable thoroughness.

Later on, we furnished large amounts of literature to state and local committees, and still later, the demand for literature being too great to make it practicable to supply it from one point, we furnished duplicate plates of our literature, to a number of state and local committees, from which millions of copies were printed.

Our work in the above lines was carried on in so many quarters, has received so many marks of appreciation and was so uniformly co-incident with the results which it had aimed to accomplish, that it is simply impossible to attempt a detailed review here. The most important item, however, was probably the Iowa canvass. Here, the State Committee concluded to devote its efforts and its energies to the State ticket and left the Congressional campaign to be looked out for by a voluntary committee, acting in co-operation with the Reform Club. That committee made, within two months, the poll canvass of the entire State of Iowa, outside of a few of the larger cities, and thereupon this Sub-Committee undertook to attend to the

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distribution of literature for that State. The local committee also developed such a plan for organization, and secured for it such local support that we felt justified in commending it to our friends, with the result that some \$5,000 was raised and used to defray in part the cost of a complete organization of the State. In connection with this work unstinted praise is due to the tact, energy, perseverance and self-sacrifice of Mr. Rignal D. Woodward.

The following is a statement of the distribution of literature by this Sub-Committee :

Total number of documents sent out:

In separate addressed wrappers	236,491
In bulk	264,809
Total	501,300

THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE, OF WHICH MR. DUNHAM WAS CHAIRMAN during the former part of the year, and of which MR. ABBOT HAS BEEN CHAIRMAN during the last few months—including the campaign, has demonstrated by its work the advisability of its organization just before the commencement of the year.

The following quotations from its report speak for themselves :

The Sub-Committee has pursued the plan outlined in its report of last December, and has prepared the various numbers of "TARIFF REFORM," and issued them as rapidly as possible. Also, as opportunity offered, numbers especially applicable to current events in the tariff struggle were issued. We have done very little in the way of gratuitous distribution beyond sending samples of our literature to such as asked for them.

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The success of this part of our work has been very greatly enhanced by the cordial co-operation of the other Sub-Committees and of the press, especially *The Weekly World*, *The Standard*, *The New York Weekly Post*, *The St. Louis Republic* and *The Watertown (South Dakota) Journal*. This work has continued without noticeable diminution until the present time, and the fact that the elections are past has not seemed to lessen our correspondence. A hasty examination of the letters which we have received shows that by far the greatest demand for literature comes from the farmers, and that the bulk of our correspondence is from the farming communities.

The other part of our work has consisted principally of correspondence with Democratic and other local committees, and in supplying literature for distribution by them.

The first intimation that we received of the beginning of the campaign came from Dr. Wendell A. Anderson, Secretary of the Wisconsin Democratic State Central Committee, who, very early in June, ordered 10,000 documents from us, most of which were sent out in addressed wrappers which he furnished. During September and October orders came in upon us so fast that we could scarcely supply them, although toward the last pamphlets were being sent to us from the printers at the rate of 20,000 a day. About 250,000 pamphlets were sent out by this sub-committee alone, in addition to those furnished other sub-committees.

The experiment lately made by the issue, in imperfect shape, of a campaign book for the use

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of tariff reform speakers, has demonstrated the great use of such a volume and the large demand that there is for it, and the extent to which in all parts of the country the repute and influence of the Club can be thus increased.

Since January 1st, 1890, we have had printed 939,186 copies of special numbers of TARIFF REFORM.

OF ALL THE COMMITTEES, THAT ON PRESS—MR. WALTER H. PAGE, CHAIRMAN, has probably accomplished by far the most extensive and effective work in proportion to the amount of expenditure involved on the part of this Club. We have secured the continuous, effective and enthusiastic service of

I.—The American Press Association, to which we give 7,000 words every three weeks of popular tariff reform articles, which are published in 200 of the better daily and weekly papers outside the large cities. The estimated circulation of these papers is 300,000.

II.—The A. N. Kellogg Newspaper Company, Kansas City, to whom we give 8,000 words every three weeks, which goes into 150 papers, whose circulation is estimated at 150,000.

III.—The Chicago Newspaper Union, to which we send 4,000 words weekly, which goes into papers, which use plate matter and into “ready print” papers. This matter is distributed by matrices from the several branches of this union, among others the Western Newspaper Union, Chicago (250 papers); the Northwestern Newspaper Union, St. Paul, (110 papers); the Indiana Newspaper Union, Indianapolis (20 papers);

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through branches at Detroit, St. Louis and other cities (300 papers). In all 680 papers, having a circulation of 600,000.

By this machinery, therefore, we put popular tariff reform matter into papers that have a circulation in the country and in the smaller towns and villages, of about 1,050,000. * * *

THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON CONGRESS, OF WHICH MR. WARNER IS CHAIRMAN, found abundance of work to be done, from April, when it definitely undertook active work, until the November elections were held. By frequent visits to Washington, numerous trips through the different Congressional districts in this State, and several of those in other States ; and by a continued system of correspondence, this Committee undertook, so far as it dared count upon the efforts and resources of the Club and its friends, to procure the nomination of proper Congressional candidates, and then in co-operation with the Democratic Congressional Committee, whose Chairman, Mr. Flower, and Secretary, Major T. O. Towles, afforded us every facility to secure their election in every part of the country outside of New York city (where the work was left to the Sub-Committee on that city, assisted by local organizations). So far, however, as concerned details of actual campaign work, it became evident that these could be better attended to either by the efficient sub-committees in charge of the territory to be covered, or through local committees. Upon these, therefore — in which, however, were included the members of this sub-committee—fell most of the work, and to these is due the credit.

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To sum up the work of the Committee for the year 1890, and its results:

During the year the Tariff Reform Committee has practically completed its canvass, involving addresses and full data in regard to each of 700,000 voters in New York State, outside of the large cities; has co-operated in similar work in a dozen other States; has distributed some 900,000 pamphlets, two-thirds of these being sent in single numbers direct from our office to selected voters in this and other States; has secured thirty-four joint debates on the tariff question at county fairs in New York State, at which the tariff reform cause was represented by the most distinguished speakers of the country (this in addition to six similar appointments where the protectionists defaulted); has held hundreds of public meetings throughout rural New York in the strongholds of "Protection"; has regularly supplied with Tariff Reform matter a thousand papers in small towns through the country; has made expert investigations into the effect of the tariff upon each of the leading industries of the country, and published the results in a series of discussions which have become standard on the subjects they treat; has carried on a Tariff Reform school in this city; has furnished speakers for work in other States; and in every part of the country has stirred into life, or co-operated with, local organizations, first, in effective Tariff Reform propaganda, and then to secure the election of Tariff Reform Congressmen.

The results have thoroughly justified the work. Not to mention them at length, we note as characteristic:

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(a.) The systematic propaganda work undertaken by the Committee on New York State, and continued from January last until the last week in October, covered all the State north and west of Westchester County, or twenty of the thirty-four Congressional districts of the State. In these districts, this Committee's work was devoted to national issues, and to the election of Tariff Reform Congressmen; while that of the State and local Committees was almost wholly on local issues and in behalf of Assembly candidates. The result shows a net gain of seven Congressmen in the twenty Congressional districts, as compared with a net gain of eight Assemblymen in the eighty-five Assembly Districts included within the same territory. Or, reducing it to percentage, the gain of Congressmen in the territory thus covered has been nearly four times that in Assemblymen.

(b.) In Iowa, where the Reform Club did more work than in any State outside of New York, the local committee took charge of the canvass for State officers, leaving to a volunteer committee working in co-operation with the Reform Club, the burden of the Congressional canvass. Though the Republicans carried the State ticket, the net Democratic majority for Congressmen was 8,000, and of Iowa's eleven Congressmen, six Tariff Reformers were elected, instead of one two years since.

(c.) Next to Iowa, it was in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan that the Reform Club did the most work (though local Committees defrayed the greater part of the expense and gave the Congressional canvass the full share of their attention) and the results were equally marked.

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(d.) Montana and South Dakota came next, both in amount of work done and results accomplished, while

(e.) In Illinois, the one district picked out for work, that of Rowell, the Chairman of the House Committee on contested elections, was so thoroughly and well covered that, while local leaders of all parties still considered the campaign of the Democratic candidate a hopeless one, the Reform Club forwarded him a poll canvass to justify its assertion then made, that it indicated he would be elected—as was the case.

The instances given are but characteristic of others in nearly every northern and western state in which the work done by the Reform Club, either single-handed or with effective local co-operation, has entitled it to share in the victory won. They will, however, indicate somewhat of the nature, extent and urgency of the opportunities which the Reform Club has been obliged to meet or lose.

THE EFFECTIVE WORK OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE, during the year, has relieved this Committee of much of the burden that has heretofore rested upon it. I submit the accounts, hereto annexed, of the General Committee and each of its Sub-Committees, showing the details of the amount, which, during the year, was put at our service by the Finance Committee, and the use made by us of every dollar of the same.

In addition to funds noted in such accounts, there was collected in 1890, through the co-operation of this Committee some \$15,000, mainly for use in Congressional campaigns in this and other

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States, the items of which were contributed with the knowledge that they were to be turned over to local committees, whose work and plans were approved by this Committee, but the details of whose expenditures it could not undertake to supervise.

The total amount therefore expended by this Committee during 1890 has been:

Subscriptions paid out and accounted

for by annexed accounts	\$35,899 13
Present indebtedness	3,444 58
Re-expended receipts from literature distribution for Literature Distribution	3,670 42
Expended through local Committee as above	<hr/> 15,000 00
	<hr/> \$58,014 13

It is, of course, appreciated by this Committee, even more thoroughly than it can be by any one else, how generally its work has been only one of the factors which in each locality contributed to the result. It claims no credit, except that of having done its part to earn for the Club its share of credit for the success that has crowned its cause; it congratulates itself only upon the demonstration now afforded, that during the years past it has devoted such energy as it has possessed, and such resources as have been put at its disposal in directions which have proved those leading to success.

AS TO THE FUTURE, the outlook seems clear. The present situation is the result, not merely of

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an awakening of economic intelligence, but also to some extent of blind discontent, which has kept voters from the polls. To keep the former awake and to turn the latter into appreciation of the real causes of hard times are the duties imperative to be performed, unless we are willing to let the impulses to which we owe our late success either ebb into comparative ineffectiveness or to be diverted in the direction of movements as hostile as is "Protection" to real freedom, and only less dangerous because less directly serviceable to mercenary forces that are capable of permanent organization. Our opponents appreciate the situation ; they have already commenced the campaign of 1892, which on their part, from this time till the polls close in that year, will be the most intelligently and thoroughly contested of any that has been waged since the United States has been a nation. To see that every inch of the ground left uncovered by our allies is continuously occupied by ourselves, to anticipate and meet every device of our opponents, is the task before this Committee if it is to do as it has heretofore done—assume that the extent of its work is to be measured only by that necessary to secure success.

TARIFF REFORM WORK 1891 (FROM REPORT, JULY 1, 1891)

IN THIS CITY the work has progressed under the chairmanship of MR. STAPLER.

During January, by systematic correspondence, the resident members of the Club were classified according to their home or voting residence, and a general plan adopted looking to the establishment in each Congressional district of a local Tariff Reform Club, self-supporting and composed indifferently of both Reform Club members and others, though it was expected that the former would, in each case, call the preliminary meeting, procure the incorporation of themselves and others into a club, and in general stand ready to do such work as might be necessary to build up a strong organization, furnishing all ordinary club facilities, except perhaps, those of a restaurant.

The Congressional, instead of the Assembly district, was adopted as the basis of organization for two reasons:

First.—Experience had proved it impracticable to establish so numerous a system of Tariff Reform Clubs as would be required by one in each Assembly district.

Second.—The Assembly district being the basis of organization for purposes of local politics, to adopt the same basis for our Tariff Reform organizations would bring us into apparent—and frequently involve us in real rivalry with local political organizations.

Third.—On national questions, such as the

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Tariff, it is the Congressional and not the Assembly district that is the unit.

In three districts, the Seventh, Tenth and Eleventh, it was arranged to provide with these clubs at once, and in each case the ground was sufficiently surveyed to satisfy us that the plan was entirely practicable. Owing, however, to the extent to which members in charge found themselves engrossed by unexpected calls upon their time in other directions, no actual incorporation was had in either the Seventh or the Tenth districts; while in the Eleventh this Committee merely assisted (by supplying speakers and defraying the printing expense of meetings) a Tariff Reform Club of Reform Club members and others already incorporated and developing in the lines suggested—two meetings, one on Pianos and the Tariff and one on Brewing and the Tariff, being held at rooms which it provided.

The successful development of this Club has, however, been such as at once to demonstrate the practicability of the general plan noted and to suggest details; and the Sub-Committee proposes to have incorporated before the autumn local elections, and in running order immediately thereafter, a Tariff Reform Club in each Congressional district, which shall have frequent meetings at its rooms for discussion of Tariff Reform subjects, and co-operate with others from other Congressional districts in supporting a Tariff school, in holding large mass meetings, and in such other work as should be done for the city at large.

IN NEW YORK STATE AT LARGE, UNDER MR. HINMAN'S direction, the work has gone steadily

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on. The poll canvass has been entirely completed, as has also the classification count; which latter is now being put into the most convenient form for constant use. The poll of nine counties has been duplicated. There have been distributed in the counties of Steuben, Cattaraugas, Allegany, St. Lawrence, Chenango, Ulster, Oneida and Tioga, 108,000 numbers of "*Tariff Reform*"—and provision has already been made for the circulation of at least 150,000 more—in each case selected with particular reference to the interests of the individual as shown by our poll canvass.

The speaking campaign, by a series of meetings held in the smaller towns of each of the counties taken up, has covered, during the current year, the counties of Chautauqua, Cayuga, Steuben, Chenango, Tioga, Ulster and Oneida, besides a series of five meetings held in St. Lawrence and one at Auburn—one hundred meetings in all. Of these thirteen were joint debates—five in St. Lawrence County, six in Ulster, one in Oneida and one in Cayuga. The average attendance this year has been much greater than was the case during a similar period in 1891, and the interest much greater.

As last year, there have been occasional signs of a timidity among Democrats on the tariff issue, or more frequently of a suspicious resentment on the part of petty local leaders, against any attempt at agitation not fathered by themselves; but, as has been our experience heretofore, this has deprived us of but little co-operation that would have been worth much in any event, and has

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amounted to open opposition only in one case, that at Saugerties. Here the attempt of the local representative of the county organization to prevent the holding of a meeting by sending out handbills announcing a postponement, resulted in the Reform Club distributing a counter circular, engaging a band and getting out a much larger audience than would probably have been secured by the help of Mr. "Pidgeon," the appropriately-named gentlemen concerned, who woke up to find that he had attempted to interfere with a series of meetings the first two of which had been opened under the patronage of the Chairman of his county committee.

As usual, the American Protective Tariff League not merely failed to respond at all to most of the challenges issued for joint discussion, but, after having promised Mr. Horr to meet Mr. Wilbur for a series of those meetings in St. Lawrence County, and having named Hon. William McKinley as Mr. Harter's opponent at Auburn on June 3d, and Hon. Robt. W. Taylor to oppose Mr. Vinton and Mr. Bennett in Ulster County on the 11th, 12th and 13th of June, it substituted Mr. Horr for Mr. McKinley at Auburn, failed entirely to produce Mr. Taylor, and ventured to expose Mr. Horr to Mr. Wilbur's arguments at only three of the six meetings at which he had permitted himself to be advertised; while far from even standing by the champions it did produce, its metropolitan press practically ignored the debates; while its local newspapers spent the time previous to the meetings in advising nobody to attend them; and after the meetings gave but little space

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even to their own speakers, and in various ways expressed themselves to the effect that, after all, such discussions were not a fair way of carrying on an educational campaign—though the Tariff Reform papers filled column after column with full accounts of the speeches on both sides.

In addition to the speaking campaign, a feature of the work in New York State this year has been the organization of local Tariff Reform Committees, for the distribution of documents, the holding of meetings, and, in general, the effective pushing of local Tariff Reform propaganda. In this way some eight or ten counties have been fairly covered—generally in connection with campaigns carried on, and in other cases in connection with the completion of the poll canvass by agents of the Sub-Committee—the aim being to arouse in its local committees an enthusiasm and *esprit de corps* which will make them effective instruments in anti-protective tariff agitation in their respective vicinities.

AS TO THE WORK IN OTHER STATES, MR. BALDWIN THUS REPORTS:—In *Iowa* revision has already been commenced at the poll lists made last year, and the efficient organization then effected for the greater part of that State has been extended to every part of it. We have also arranged to supply literature, to a limited amount, to selected addresses in that State, and have sent one speaker into the State, who already has engagements for above twenty meetings during July.

In *Minnesota* we have arranged for a poll canvass of the State and a thorough distribution of

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literature as the basis thus laid—this without expense to ourselves, except for blanks and the services of a man to get the work started.

In *Nebraska* we have arranged to undertake the starting of a poll canvass, in the hope and expectation, however, that once well started the expense will be defrayed and the work carried forward by local subscription. As soon as it is far enough advanced, we propose to commence the distribution of selected literature, in connection with local organizations.

In *Ohio, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee* and *Kentucky*, we have already arranged for work by means of compiled lists of local friends upon whom we can rely to the extent of say 4,000 for Ohio and a proportionate number for the other States named. Most of these lists have already been received.

We have also made arrangements to aid by literature and speakers this autumn in the Tariff Reform campaigns in *Ohio* and *Iowa*; and by trusted correspondents we are keeping informed of the Farmers' Alliance movement in its several phases.

The SUB-COMMITTEE ON PRESS, MR. PAGE, Chairman, reports :

So far during the present year the work of the Committee on Press has been within the lines upon which it was settled early in 1890—its main aim being the supplying through existing news agencies, of “patent inside” and “plate” matter on tariff questions to local newspapers all over

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the country—aggregating about a thousand in number, and having, perhaps, a million circulation. Most of these are weeklies.

The very extent to which this service has been effectively systematized and is smoothly working, leaves but little to report.

This being the case, we have organized for what, in accordance with former reports, we regard as the next natural step in our work. There still remain the more important weekly papers and a large proportion of the daily papers of the smaller cities, that never use patent inside matter, and rarely, if ever, that sent out in plates. Of these we have roughly calculated there are at least five hundred in the United States—a large proportion of them being in New York State—that would gladly use each a considerable amount of timely Tariff Reform matter, provided it could be sent them in typewritten manuscript. The statistician of the Committee has so far completed his general series of Tariff Reform discussions, that not merely is he fitted by a broad experience, but will soon have sufficient leisure from his other work to devote himself to collating the special new matter required. We propose :

First.—Scanning the prospects of tariff discussion, to select the subjects and the points upon which to force the fight, roughly arrange the order in which they should be presented, and classify the new list of periodicals to be dealt with, according to the extent to which they may be expected—in view of local circumstances—to use the matter we wish circulated.

Second.—To give careful study to each of the

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industries and points of tariff discussion, in which are interested any considerable number of the localities in which the several papers are printed —then to arrange these papers in groups of those interested in the same subject.

Third.—To prepare matter, such as we particularly wish given circulation—in articles say of two or three different grades of condensation, to meet the varying requirements of the papers to whom the articles are to be sent.

Fourth—To compile a series of articles upon each of the industries or tariff points in which any group of papers are interested.

Fifth—Having duplication of copy made to the necessary extent, to send (generally at regular intervals) to each paper (*a*) the particular discussions to which we wish general currency given, in the form and to the extent we judge it will prefer them; and (*b*) the special matter, which, on account of local circumstances, we believe will be most welcome.

There still remain other steps definitely outlined in earlier reports of this Sub-Committee, such as the matter of highly specialized investigations for single or small groups of papers, and notes as a basis for editorial matter to papers that will receive it. We have not abandoned either of these plans; but believe the step now proposed and outlined above is the natural and necessary preliminary to successfully pushing those yet to be undertaken.

IN PREPARATION AND CIRCULATION OF LITERATURE, the following from MR. ABBOT's report shows what has been lately done :

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At the November meeting of the General Committee, this Sub-Committee was notified that until after the New Year only such funds could be allowed it as might be necessary to continue indispensable work, conduct necessary correspondence, etc., and hence it was left to the current year to complete the work actually planned for and dated in 1890. As a result, most of the cost and labor involved in the following numbers of "Tariff Reform" has been borne since January 1st. *Comparison, Item by Item, of the Tariff, of 1883, that proposed by the Mills Bill and the McKinley Tariff, Piano-making and the Tariff, Glass and the Tariff, Reform Club's Jubilee Dinner of December 23d, 1890.*

Of numbers of Vol. IV, dated in this year, there have already been issued:

Who Pays Tariff Taxes? (An illustrated number); Wall Paper and the Tariff; Brewing and the Tariff; Hats and the Tariff; The Drawback Humbug; and Pottery and the Tariff.

While we have now in press, or well advanced in preparation, *Tinned Plate and the Tariff; Silver and Protection; Bottling and the Tariff; Carpets and the Tariff; Free Raw Materials; Tariff History of the United States; Lead and Tariffs.*

Since January 1st there have been sent out of the office, mainly by or on orders of the Sub-Committee on the State of New York, or the Sub-Committee on other States, 155,500 numbers of "Tariff Reform."

Our order bureau has also maintained corres-

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pondence with inquirers from all parts of the country, and promptly filled daily small orders for our own and other publications.

The frequent inquiry already making for the Tariff "*Red Book*," for use of speakers and writers, justifies our recommendation that a new one, enlarged and brought down to date, be promptly prepared. The material is so nearly ready that we shall begin in July the preparation of table of contents and index, with the expectation of having the book ready in August.

AS TO FINANCES:

Since January 1st this Committee has received:

(a.) From Reform Club, non-res.

dues	\$ 4,500 00
(b.) Individual contributions . . .	12,391 00
(c.) Committee balances, from 1890	176 26
(d.) Miscell. receipts (Lit. sales, work for Sec., &c.)	296 00
	<hr/>
	\$17,364 00

During the same period we have disbursed:

(a.) For deficit of 1890 \$ 5,529 70

(b.) For new work 11,972 22

\$17,501 92

Our deficit for 1890 of about \$5,500 has been paid, and a greater amount of new work done than ever before in the first six months of the year; while the extent to which our members have been left free from urgent calls should ensure a prompt response to meet extraordinary expenditures warranted by the extraordinary oppor-

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tunities already developing for work during the autumn. All of which is respectfully submitted,

THE COMMITTEE ON TARIFF REFORM.

JOHN DE WITT WARNER,
Chairman.

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ELECTORAL REFORM.

TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE REFORM CLUB:

The report for the year 1890 and 1891 of the Committee on Electoral Reform is one of great progress and encouragement for the cause of electoral reform throughout the country at large, but of disappointment and retrogression in the State of New York. Thirty states, an increase of seventeen during the year, now have Ballot Reform Laws.

It will be remembered that the determined opposition of the Governor of the State to any form of ballot which should contain the names of more candidates for one office than one elector could vote for, compelled the New York Ballot Reform Act of last year to provide a separate ballot for each separate nominating body. This made the law cumbrous and expensive as compared with the Massachusetts Act for instance, which provided for a blanket ballot. The practical operation of the law, however, was so great an improvement upon the election laws which it replaced, and the adoption of the blanket ballot was so complete and obvious a remedy for every well-grounded criticism, that your Committee urged upon the friends of ballot reform in the last Legislature to refrain from proposing any amendments for the present, but to await the result of the approaching change in the State administration and the constantly growing sentiment in favor of a genuine blanket ballot.

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But the desire to reduce the expenses of the law was made the excuse for introducing various amendments, and near the close of the legislative session certain amendments were adopted which completely changed the character of the law. Legislative action upon these amendments was so rapid that they had passed the Senate and were upon their final passage in the Assembly before the friends of Ballot Reform were aware that they were before the Legislature at all. A formal hearing in opposition to them was granted, but the obnoxious amendments were immediately passed. The Reform Club, the Civil Service Reform Association, the City Reform Club, the Commonwealth Club and the Manhattan Single Tax Club at once telegraphed a protest to the Governor and requested a hearing before him. This was refused. These organizations then submitted a brief in opposition to the proposed amendments, but the Governor signed the bill.

The changes made by these amendments are so radical and so destructive of some of the most essential principles of ballot reform, that we present here a brief statement and discussion of them.

Under the system of elections obtaining prior to the Ballot Act of last year, all ballots were printed and distributed at private expense, the State providing merely polling places and election officers to receive and count the ballots. In practice this system was found to be so enormously expensive and to require so much machinery that it placed the virtual monopoly of nominations and elections in the control of organ-

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ized political parties. The printing and distribution of the ballot at public expense renders necessary the provision of some method by which may be ascertained the names of candidates to be placed upon the ballot. Two methods were provided by the Ballot Law of last year: First, the method of nominations by party convention or primary; Second, the method of nominating by properly authenticated petitions, signed with due formality by voters residing in the political district in and for which the public officer is to be elected. In brief, the law accomplished two reforms, a reform in the ballot itself, in that the State printed it and furnished it at the polls to every voter, and a reform in the method of nominations, in that independent bodies were no longer deterred by the great expense of election machinery from making nominations to office. It is this latter reform which has been attacked and practically annulled by these amendments.

Properly to appreciate the full meaning and effect of these amendments, we must bear in mind the kind of ballot provided by last year's bill. Under last year's bill the voter can vote but one ballot, and on that ballot must be the name of every candidate for office for whom he wishes to vote, from the highest State office to the lowest ward or local position. Moreover, the ballot is not a blanket ballot, that is, a ballot on which are printed, under the title of each office, the names of all the candidates for that office, among which candidates the voter can indicate his choice on the ballot itself. On the contrary, it is expressly provided by law that there shall be on the ballot

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no more names of candidates for an office than one voter can vote for. Ours is the multiple ballot system, not the blanket ballot system.

On the blanket ballot, as above described, each candidate's name is on an exact equality with the name of every other candidate. He appeals to the suffrages of all his fellow-citizens. If the voter is a party man, he finds his party candidate upon the ballot. If, for any reason he is dissatisfied with his party's candidate, he finds the other candidates on the ballot and may select any one of them. If the voter is not a party man, among the various candidates competing for his favor, he may indicate his preference for any. The blanket ballot recognizes not only that elections are a public function, and, therefore, that their expense is properly borne by the State, but the further fact, that the State, on its (official) ballot, has no right to show favoritism to any candidate, either to Republicans as against Democrats, or Democrats as against Republicans, or to Republicans and Democrats as against Independents. Thus equal and exact justice is, with great ease, and at very slight expense, accomplished automatically by the blanket ballot system. In Massachusetts, for instance, at the last election, the entire expense of printing and distributing one million ballots among 865 polling places in many different political districts scattered through the entire state, and of furnishing two ballot clerks for each of those polling places was less than \$20,000, and these one million ballots were ample for the use of 295,000 voters; while the simple provision that there should be one voting booth or compartment

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for each seventy-five voters made it possible for more than two thousand voters to cast their ballots in one polling place.

The multiple ballot system increases the expense and can under no circumstances be as entirely just and fair as the blanket ballot system. There was, therefore, all the more reason why especial pains should be taken that it accomplish as little injustice as possible, and the ballot reform act of last year contained among others the following safeguards. Recognizing that independent movements rarely nominate more than one or two candidates, and that ordinarily these candidates are nominated because of reasons peculiar to some locality, and not because of general party dissatisfaction through an entire State or large subdivision of a State, it provides that in the independent certificate of nomination there should be designated one or more persons with authority to fill out the independent ballot with the names of candidates who had already been put in the field by other nominating bodies, and it further provided that the printing officer should print as many different kinds of ballots as this committee should require; that is at least two kinds of ballots.

These two provisions, with others allowing, after convention nominations, a reasonable period within which the independent nominations might be made, approximated the multiple ballot system to the blanket ballot system. The independent candidate for Mayor, for instance, would have his name printed upon a ballot, all the names upon which, except his own, would be the names of Republican candidates, and upon a second ballot,

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all the names upon which, except his own, would be those of Democratic candidates. This was admitted as perfectly fair, because it recognized the well-known fact that the mass of voters are divided between the two great parties; that the action of a political party furnished it automatically with a complete ballot while, without the foregoing provisions, an independent nominating body could, under no circumstances, have a complete ballot. Moreover, every candidate on the regular party ballot, except the candidate, the dissatisfaction with whose nomination has given rise to the independent movement, would have his name presented upon two ballots, his own and the independent ballot. No one was prejudiced. Each candidate was treated precisely alike. The only possible objection was the expense, and this additional expense was inherent in the multiple ballot system. The fault was with the system. The remedy was to substitute the blanket ballot.

On the plea of reducing expense, three amendments to the ballot law have been passed. The *first* amendment increased the number of signatures requisite to an independent nomination for a State office from one thousand to three thousand, for an office to be filled by the voters of a district less than a State and greater than a county from 250 to 500, for an assembly district nomination from 100 to 250, and for a city or county office in the counties of New York and Kings, from 300 to 600. The *second* amendment provided that any party candidate might, at any time, 15 days before election, file in the office where his original certificate of nomination is filed a caveat forbid-

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ding the printing officer to put his name on any ballot with independent candidates. The *third* amendment provided that under no circumstances should an independent nominating body have more than one ballot. The first amendment makes it a physical impossibility for the direct nomination of a complete ticket by independents, for, under other provisions of the bill, the extreme time limit within which six or eight thousand signatures would have to be obtained is ten days. The second amendment places it within the power of the regular parties to make it a condition of receiving a nomination at their hands, that each candidate shall agree to stand or fall with the other party candidates. Under the third amendment independent nominating bodies will have more than ever for their sole reliance in making up their ballot, the committee designated by them in their nominating certificate. But this committee cannot know until the evening of the 15th day before election whether the name of any candidate for a State office is open to them for placing upon the independent ballot, and yet under another requirement of the law, must select that name at least 15 days before election ; and as to other candidates, under the law, the committee will have but two days to ascertain from the various county clerks' offices which of the regular candidate has failed to file a caveat.

The third amendment removes the last vestige of fairness to the Independents. Under it they are nominally allowed to have one ballot. The operation of the two previous amendments, however, makes it impossible that even this one ballot

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should be a complete ballot. Either it must necessarily be an imperfect and mutilated one, with many blanks upon it, which must be filled out, if at all, by the voter when within the voting booth at the cost of great inconvenience and confusion by writing in names or using many pasters. Or, if it is a complete ballot, such names as are upon it must be made up either of all Republicans, except the independent candidate, thereby offending the Democratic voter, or of Democratic names, except the one independent, thereby offending the Republican voter, or else it must be a mixed ballot, made up from both parties, and thereby offending both Republicans and Democrats.

The effect of the three amendments taken together is very plain. The title of the act should now read not "An Act to Promote the Independence of Voters at Public Elections, and Providing for the Printing and Distribution of Ballots at Public Expense," but "An Act to Discourage the Independence of Voters at Public Elections by Providing for the printing and distribution of party Ballots at Public Expense and Compelling Independents at Private Expense to Print and Distribute Pasters and Paster Ballots."

For this is precisely what these amendments are intended to accomplish. Independents may not have State printed ballots, they must provide their own ballots, and these must be pasters. On election day Independents must have a body of paid workers at every poll, offering their ballots to voters. The Ballot Reform Act becomes a ballot degradation act, and the ballot reformers who

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started the agitation in this State, which has resulted in twenty-seven States enacting genuine ballot reform laws, exclusive of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, are forced to be themselves the vehicle of perpetuating and increasing one of the grossest evils which they have attempted to cure. Independents must now raise a large fund to pay for the printing and distribution of paster ballots, and to supply an army of paid workers on Election Day.

Your Committee do not feel, however, that the cause of Ballot Reform is lost in New York. The friends of that cause are more than ever determined to work for its triumph.

NEW YORK, Aug. 1, 1891.

HORACE E. DEMING,

Chairman.

LAWRENCE DUNHAM,

Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY.

TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE REFORM CLUB:

The Committee on the Library respectfully report :

When we were appointed, we found 2,405 volumes entered on the library accession book, and about 1,250 pamphlets not entered. There have been added by gift and purchase about 1200 volumes.

We have put up book-cases in the library, and a mantel-piece of marble and mahogany, and have wainscoted with marble the walls on each side of the registers. All this marble is the gift of Crammond Kennedy of Washington, and is from the Malletts Bay Quarry, Vermont. We have arranged the books and catalogued them. We have secured subscriptions in money to the amount of \$1,065, and gifts of books of the value of nearly \$1,000 in addition.

So many members of the Club have written books of permanent value, that we have set apart an alcove for these works ; to which we hope many annual additions will be made.

Our purpose is, if supported by our fellow-members, to supply the Club with a good economic library, adequate for study and research, and with a collection of books of general literature which will make the library an attractive reading-room.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

A fund of \$10,000 would enable us to accomplish all these objects. Once attained, the library would be, we are assured, maintained out of the treasury of the Club. We hope therefore, before the end of the present year to have a library which shall be an honor to the Reform Club of the City of New York.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

EVERETT P. WHEELER,

Chairman.

NEW YORK, June 8, 1891.

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